

Confidential

Collection No. 85/37-38

CB. 182-37-1
"B" May 1938

P-86

Subject

Govt. order regarding display
of Congress flag in public
places.

Confidential.

Collection No. 85737-38

~~VOL. II.~~

General and Revenue
Secretariat.

Council Section.

C.B. 182-37-1

13 May 1938

SUBJECT.

Government Order regarding
display of Indian flag in
public places

PREVIOUS REFERENCES.

C.B. 81-37-1 (C.C. 167-32-3)
P.P. 10-31-1 (C.C. 167-32-3)

LATER REFERENCES.

C.B. 189-37-1 (C.C. 60-37)

DEWAN'S OFFICE
18 APR. 1938
Per 163/15

DEWAN'S MINUTE.

FILE No.

193

G.O. re Congress flag

I do not think the G.O. on this subject

being correctly interpreted by the District S.
has. It is perhaps our own fault, as the language
is not as clear as it should have been.

On the other hand we are on the point. We did not

want the Congress flag the hoisting & saluting with

any ceremony in a public place or a place open to

the public. We had no intention of prohibiting it in

private places or in processions.

It is doubtful whether the hoisting & saluting

of the G.O. makes or indicates more clear, more

that the hoisting & saluting of any flag

other than the Mysore flag, in any public place

or a place open to the public, is prohibited. Govt.

has no objection to the hoisting of the flag at

private gatherings or in processions. What Govt.

object to is the ceremonial hoisting & saluting of

any flag other than the State flag, in

circumstances which cannot be overlooked as

the sovereignty of His Highness the Maharaja

and the dignity of the State flag. This is

a point of view which the Govt. feel that with

appreciable & every patriotic subject of His H.

the Maharaja.

1. Attached a copy for the

2. Press printed. (Chief Secy)

1st member
2nd member

Subd.
a Draft G.O. on the 18-4-38
above lines with the text.

yes, with previous
reference 18/4

18/4
19/4
19/4

General and Revenue
Secretariat

File No.

of 193

[App. F. II-2

Serial
No.

Draft of a G.O. amplifying the Circular letter of July 1931 which has given rise to certain amount of misunderstanding in administering on the part of District Magistrates, is herewith submitted for consideration.

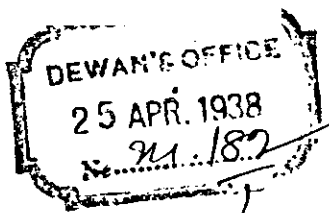
The draft clears the position that Government have no intention of prohibiting the use of the Congress Flag at purely party meetings or in ^{ordely} processions and brings out the idea that the hoisting and saluting ^{it is ceremonial} of any flag other than the Mysore Flag in any public place or a place open ^{Not} to the public is prohibited.

The draft also makes it clear that the ceremonial hoisting and saluting any flag other than the State Flag in circumstances which cannot but reflect on the Sovereignty of His Highness and to the dignity and importance of the State Flag is objectionable.

The draft has been ~~perused~~ perused by the First Member of Council and the changes suggested by him are embodied in the draft proposed for consideration.

1st member }
Dewan }

MS
19.4.38



DEWAN'S MINUTE.

FILE No. 193 .

The draft G.O. re Congress flag
may be placed before the P.A. Committee
a decision obtained upon it.

Chairman,
P.A. Comm.)

M,
24-4-38

To be read at P (Comm)
tomorrow

Spn
25/4

This was read & approved by the
Comm^{ee}

Spn
26/4

It is approved

is necessary.

a no. note may be put up.

M,
26-4-38

Wm
27.4

D.S. is in final up & sub

Wm
27/4

Dewan:

Wm
27.4

M,
27-4-38

5)

Submitted to His Highness.

H
M.

I beg to submit herewith for His Highness's gracious approval the draft of Government Order proposed to be issued amplifying the Circular letter No. 255-62/P.P. 10-31-1 dated 11th July 1931 regarding display of Congress flag in public places, which has given rise to certain amount of misunderstanding.

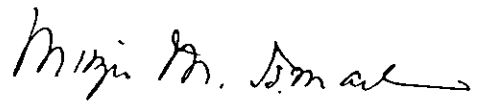
The draft clears the position that Government have no intention of prohibiting the use of the Congress Flag at purely party meetings or in orderly processions and brings out the idea that it is the ceremonial hoisting and salutation of any flag other than the Mysore Flag in any public place or place open to the public that is prohibited.

The draft also makes it clear that it is the ceremonial hoisting and saluting of any flag other than the State Flag in circumstances which cannot but reflect on the Sovereignty of His Highness and on the dignity and importance of the State Flag that is objected to.

The views of the Chief Justice in regard to the above matter have been incorporated in the draft which has also been approved by the Political Affairs Committee at the meeting held on 26th April 1938

Bangalore

27th April, 1938.


D E W A N.

Record of Cases submitted for the Orders of
His Highness the Maharaja.



Subject.

Draft Government Order regarding display
of Congress Flag in public places.

Chief Secy

Md

1-5-38

627

Order.

~~KRW~~

28/4/38

It is not the same for
now.

I have put in a slightly
marked ^{mark A} drop - what may be
with a slight addition of the post-
poned one. Later on
we may decide ~~at~~ when
to issue it.

Vice Deputy Minister (Legal)
attached

17m
2/5

No. H. 1147

DEWAN'S MINUTE.

FILE No. .

193 .

G.O. & Congress flag.

Let us issue it.

May I see a proof copy before it is finally
printed off?

2) It may be got translated into Kanak
& copies distributed all over
the State.

Chief Secy)

Ans
1-5-38

SP-1/5

CB made
17th
2/5

by
2-5

Set has been
in immediate
to day
by 2-5

8

General and Revenue
Secretariat

File No.

of 193

[App. F. III-2]

Serial
No.

Two copies in proof of the G. O. re: Congress
Flag are submitted for approval.

It is also being translated into Kannada.

LM
2/5

DEWAN)

LM
3-5-38
LM 5-5

G.O. No. 3516-241 CB, 182-37-1 dated 5.6.1938

The District Magistrates of Districts,

The Inspector General of Police,

The Comptroller, Mysore Gazette,

Lays down the policy of Govt. regarding the
Congress Flag

(Vide G.O. d. 17.5.38
in C.B. 189-37
re: Congress receipt)

SUBJECT:—

*Draft Government Order
regarding display of Congress flag
in public places*

(*)

31. All urgent or confidential files returned with His Highness' orders may in the absence of instructions or indications to the contrary, be ordinarily circulated to the Members of Council for perusal after the issue of orders.

33. The Secretaries concerned should see that orders in the cases referred to above are issued at once and that the files are returned immediately after to the Chief Secretary for circulation to the Members.

34. In all other cases, the files will first be circulated to the Members of Council at Headquarters and then sent to the Secretariat concerned for the issue of orders.

Circulated to Members of Council for perusal of His Highness' orders ~~before~~ after issue of orders. (Vide Rules 31, 33 and 34 of the Subsidiary Rules for the conduct of business of Council in the Manual of Council Rules and Procedure.)

(Signature)
Chief Secretary to Government.

Through the Secretary to Government,

..... Department.

FIRST MEMBER OF COUNCIL.

1/5/38

SECOND MEMBER OF COUNCIL.

*Seen
M.H.
7/5/38*

*C.B.
1/5/38*

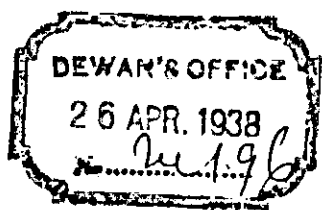
*86 24
6.5.38*

Cayle B

10

CB 2215

DEWAN'S MINUTE.



FILE No.

193

/ The drop - G.O. in flag gun h. in may be
got translated into Kannada.

(Chief Secy)

Mo
26-4-38

1422
2614

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

GENERAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

G. O. No. 3516-24—C. B. 182-37-1, dated 5th May 1938.

Congress Flag.

Lays down the policy of Government regarding the ———.

ORDER NO. 3516-24—C. B. 182-37-1, DATED BANGALORE,
THE 5TH MAY 1938.

In order to remove misapprehensions that still appear to be entertained in certain quarters about the attitude of Government towards the "Congress Flag," it is considered necessary to explain more clearly their policy in regard to this matter.

In his opening Address to the Representative Assembly in October 1937, the Dewan observed:—

"I should like here to make clear our policy regarding the Congress Flag. We have a Flag of the Empire and we have a Flag of the State. But that intermediate entity India has not yet been welded into a federation, nor has an All-India Government promulgated any universally accepted emblem of our nationality which is common both to the Provinces and to States and comprehends all the communities and groups of the Indian peoples. The Congress is a great political party, and we have no more objection to the display of its emblem at places or on occasions which are connected with legitimate party activities than we have to the display of the emblems of other parties or sectional bodies. But we cannot permit it to be displayed in a spirit of hostility to the State Flag, or under conditions which are liable to cause provocation or annoyance to persons who are not members of the party. I hope that this statement of the case will serve to remove all occasion for misunderstanding on this subject hereafter."

In a Press Communique issued a few days later, it was further explained that the implication of the statement of policy outlined in the Dewan's Address was: "that the flag should not be hoisted in public places, but that Government would not object to its display in private places in connection with the normal activities of the party" and that while there was no objection to the Congress Flag being hoisted in private places or on occasions connected with the party's activities in their own premises, it should not be hoisted in public places as it would be derogatory to the State Flag."

While the policy of the Government, as indicated in the above announcements, remains unchanged, some doubts appear to be felt regarding the exact scope of the intentions of the Government. The following further instructions are, therefore, issued in elucidation of their policy on this matter.

No. 3516-24—C. B. 182-37-1, DATED 5TH MAY 1938.

The Government have no wish to interfere with the use of any colours, flag or other emblem used, either—

- (1) to indicate in a peaceful and unprovocative manner political opinions or proposals which are intended for the good of the subjects of the State, so long as such opinions or proposals and the manner of advocating them are not incompatible with loyalty to the Ruler of the State, or
- (2) to indicate adherence to any party or body holding such opinions or advocating such proposals, provided that such opinions and proposals are not incompatible with loyalty to the Ruler of the State and are advocated in a peaceful and loyal manner.

Such uses of colours, flags or other emblems by individuals or at party meetings or in orderly processions, which are not likely to provoke any breach of the peace, are permissible. But the Government cannot allow any ceremonial hoisting, unfurling or saluting of any flag, or other emblems in any public place or place open to the public the intention of which is to express allegiance to any authority outside the State, or to express, in contravention or qualification of allegiance to His Highness the Maharaja, subordination or obedience to any political organization or body established or directed from outside the borders of the State. Such must be the intention or implication if a political flag instituted by some authority or body outside the State is ceremoniously hoisted and honoured within the State; and such action is, therefore, prohibited. Such ceremonies are quite unnecessary for the propagation of legitimate political opinions.

Subjects of His Highness the Maharaja can express under the Flag of the State any opinion compatible with their loyalty to the State. No flag may be set up or used in competition with that Flag or in any manner derogatory to that Flag, which it should be the pride of all loyal subjects of the State and all patriotic Mysoreans to honour.

H. V. RAMASWAMI,

Offg. Chief Secretary to Government.

To—The Inspector-General of Police in Mysore.

The District Magistrates of Districts.

The Compiler, *Mysore Gazette*.

PRESS TABLE.

Exd.—C. K.

WD 1856—GPB—2,535—5-5-1938.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

GENERAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

G. O. No. 3516-24—C. B. 182-37-1, dated 5th May 1938.

Congress Flag.

Lays down the policy of Government regarding the —

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Offg. Chief Secretary to Government.

To—The Inspector-General of Police in Mysore.

The District Magistrates of Districts.

The Compiler, *Mysore Gazette*.

PRESS TABLE.

sd.—C. K.

75

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS
HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.**

GENERAL AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

G. O. No.

C. B.

dated

May 1938.

— — — — —

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In a Press Communiqué issued a few days later, it was further explained that the implication of the statement of policy outlined in the Dewan's Address was: "that the flag should not be hoisted in public places, but that Government would not object to its display in private places in connection with the normal activities of the party" and that "while there was no objection to the Congress Flag being hoisted in private places or on occasions connected with the party's activities in their own premises, it should not be hoisted in public places as it would be derogatory to the State Flag."

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H. V. RAMASVAMI,
Offg. Chief Secretary to Government.

To—The District Magistrates of Districts.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS HIGHNESS
THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

~~Order~~ O. R. D. E. R. No.

Dated, Bangalore, the May 1938.

James C. M.

In order to remove misapprehensions that still appear to be entertained in certain quarters about the attitude of Government towards the "Congress Flag", it is considered necessary to explain more clearly the policy of Government in regard to this matter.

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But we cannot permit it to be displayed in a spirit of hostility to the State Flag, or under conditions which are liable to cause provocation or annoyance to persons who are not members of the party. I hope that this statement of the case will serve to remove all occasion for misunderstanding on this subject hereafter."

1

In a Press Communique issued a few days later, it was further explained that the implication of the statement of policy outlined above was not a prohibition of the display of the Congress Flag at places

in the Dewan's Address was: "that the flag should not be hoisted in public places, but that Government would not object to its display in private places in connection with the normal activities of the party" and that "while there was no objection to the Congress Flag being hoisted in private places or on occasions connected with the party's activities in their own premises, it should not be hoisted in public places as it would be derogatory to the State Flag."

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H. V. Ramaswami

Hg Chief Secretary to Government.

170

The District Magistrates of Districts.

20

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

ORDER NO.

Dated, Bangalore, the April 1938.

In-order to removing^e ~~ing~~ misapprehensions that still appear to be entertained in certain quarters about the attitude of Government towards the "Congress Flag", it is considered necessary to explain more clearly the policy of Government in regard to this matter.

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CHIEF SECRETARY, TO GOVERNMENT.

To

The District Magistrates.

27

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

ORDER NO.

Dated, Bangalore. the April 1938.

In order

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No 54 per a i
2 Copies

24

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The Government have no wish to interfere with the use of any colours, flag or other emblems, ^{used} either ⁽¹⁾ to indicate in a peaceful and unprovocative manner political opinions or proposals ^{which are} in regard to what is intended to be for the good of the subjects of the State, so long as such opinions or proposals and the manner of advocating them are not incompatible with loyalty to the Ruler of the State, ⁽²⁾ or to indicate adherence to any party or body holding such opinions or advocating such proposals, ^{N.P.} in a peaceful and loyal manner. Such uses of colours, flags or other emblems by individuals or at party meetings or in orderly processions, which are not likely to provoke any breach of the peace, ^{are} is permissible. But the Government cannot allow any ceremonial hoisting, unfurling or saluting of any flag, or other emblems in any public place or place open to the public ^{the intention of which is} so as to express allegiance to any authority outside

provided such opinion and proposals are not incompatible with loyalty to the Ruler of the State as an advocate in a peaceful and loyal manner.

the State, or ~~so as~~ to express, in contravention or qualification of allegiance to His Highness the Maharaja, subordination or obedience to any political organization or body established or directed from outside the borders of the State. Such must be the intention or implication if a political flag instituted by some authority or body outside the State is ceremoniously hoisted and honoured within the State or ~~carried in processions~~; and ^{such action} that is, therefore, prohibited. Such ceremonies are quite unnecessary for the propagation of legitimate political opinions. ^{N.P.} Loyal Subjects of His Highness the Maharaja can express any political opinion compatible with their loyalty ~~under the~~ ^{to} ~~Flag of the State~~. No flag may be set up or used in competition with that Flag or in any manner derogatory to that Flag, which it should be the pride of all loyal subjects of the State and all patriotic Mysoreans to honour."

Chief Secretary to Govt.

To

The District Magistrates.

Under the Flag of the State

any opinion compatible with
their loyalty to the State.

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(13)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS HIGHNESS
THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.

ORDER NO.

Dated, Bangalore, the 19th April 1938.

(B)

With a view to remove misapprehensions that still appear to be entertained in certain quarters about the attitude of Government towards the "Congress Flag", it is considered necessary to explain more clearly the policy of Government in regard to this matter.

In his opening Address to the Representative Assembly in October 1937, the Dewan observed:-

"I should like here to make clear our policy regarding the Congress Flag. We have a flag of the Empire and we have a flag of the State. But that intermediate entity, India, has not yet been welded into a federation, nor has an All-India Government promulgated any universally accepted emblem of our nationality which is common both to Provinces and to States and comprehends all the communities and groups of the Indian peoples. The Congress is a great political party, and we have no more objection to the display of its emblem at places or on occasions which are connected with legitimate party activities than we have to the display of the emblems of other parties or sectional bodies. But we cannot permit it to be displayed in a spirit of hostility to the State flag, or under conditions which are liable to cause provocation or annoyance to persons who are not members of the party. I hope that this statement of the case will serve to remove all occasion for misunderstanding on this subject hereafter."

In a Press Communiqué issued a few days later, it was further explained that the implication of the statement of policy outlined in the Dewan's Address was: "that the flag should not be hoisted in public places, but that Government would not object to its display in private places in connection with the normal activities of the party", and that, "while there was no objection to the Congress Flag being hoisted in private places or on occasions connected with the party's activities in their own premises, it should not be hoisted in public places, as it would be derogatory to the State Flag."

While the policy of the Government, as indicated in the above announcements, remains unchanged, some doubts appear to be felt regarding

the exact scope of the intentions of the Government. The following further instructions are, therefore, issued in elucidation of the policy of Government in this matter:—

The Government have no wish to interfere with the use of any colours, flag^{s?} or other emblems either to indicate in a peaceful and unprovocative manner political opinions or proposals in regard to what is intended to be for the good of the subjects of the State, so long as such opinions or proposals and the manner of advocating them are not incompatible with loyalty to the Ruler of the State, or to indicate adherence to any party or body holding such opinions or advocating such proposals in a peaceful and loyal manner. Such use of colours, flags or other emblems by individuals or at party meetings or in orderly processions, which are not likely to provoke any breach of the peace, is permissible. But the Government cannot allow any ceremonial hoisting, unfurling or saluting of any flag^s or other emblem^s in any public place or place open to the public (so) ^{in such a way} as to express allegiance to any authority outside the State, or (so as) to express, in contravention or qualification of allegiance to His Highness the Maharaja, subordination or obedience to any political organization or body established or directed from outside the borders of the State. Such must be the intention or implication if a political flag instituted by some authority or body outside the State is ceremoniously hoisted and honoured within the State; and that is, therefore, prohibited. Such ceremonies are quite unnecessary for the propagation of legitimate political opinions. Loyal subjects of His Highness the Maharaja can express any political opinion compatible with their loyalty under the ^DFlag of the State. No flag may be set up or used in competition with that ^DFlag or in any manner derogatory to that ^DFlag, which it should be the pride of all loyal subjects of the

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3.

State and all patriotic Mysoreans to honour."

Chief Secretary to Government

To

The District Magistrates.

I venture to suggest the following
as an alternative to the
last paragraph of the
draft Geo. 13:—

"The Government has no
wish to interfere with the
use of any colors, flag
or other emblem either to
indicate in a peaceful
& unprovocative manner
political opinions or pro-
posals in regard to what
is intended to be for
the good of the subjects of
the State so long as such
opinions or proposals & the
manner of advocating them
are not incompatible with
loyalty to the Ruler of the
State, or to indicate
adherence to any party
or body holding such opinions
or advocating such pro-
posals in a peaceful &

49 30
by a manner. Such
use of colors, flags or
other emblems by individuals
or at party meetings or
in orderly processions
which are not likely
to provoke any breach
of the peace is permissible.
But the Government cannot
allow any ceremonial
hosting, including a saluting
of any flag or other emblem
in any public place or
place open to the public
so as to express allegi-
ance to any authority outside
the State [other than
allegiance through the
Highness of the Maharaja
to His Majesty the King
Emperor] or so
as to express, in contra-
diction or subordination,
allegiance to the Highness
of the Maharaja, subordination



or otherwise to any political
organization or body established
or directed ^{from} outside the
borders of the State. Such
must be the intention
or influence of a
political flag instituted by
some authority or body
outside the State
ceremoniously hoisted
honored within the State.
That is, therefore, pro-
hibited. Such ceremonies
are quite unnecessary
for the propagation of
apostate political
opinions. Loyal subjects
of His Majesty the Emperor
cannot express any political
opinion incompatible with
their loyalty under the
flag of the State. No flag
may be set up or used
in competition with the

(c) No display of any emblem
in a derogatory or derogatory
way, such as flying
the State flag with a party
flag, could be allowed.

(d) No display or carrying
of any party emblem in
a way likely to promote
a breach of the peace
could be allowed.

The Commission have
suggested it has tried to
guard against any such
dangers & any risk of
intended misapprehension.

I have also tried to
bring out that it is the
display & transfer of
allegiance & should
divided allegiance
which is objectionable
that all legitimate
activities can be pursued
freely under the flag of
the State. If the

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Commercial history & saluting
 of the Empire they do not
 indicate allegiance or
 submission to an authority
 set up or proposed by
 a group outside the State
 or on the wrong side of the State,
 it is nevertheless necessary
 to doubt very many ignorant
 people who take part in
 anti-American don't
 realize their full position
 But we doubt also some
 who organize them have
 the intention of assisting
 the people of the State to look
 to an authority outside
 the State — a very dangerous
 tendency, unless some
 such constitutional
 change is being
 made into force.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

The Free Press Journal

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1938

STRIKE IN MYSORE

There is again political strife in Mysore. We have expressed ourselves strongly in regard to Mysore. We pleaded for political peace in Mysore, which had been rendered difficult due to a series of political prosecutions. We appealed to the Congress Working Committee to exercise its good offices. Meanwhile, the Congress strove to clarify its policy in regard to activities within the Indian States. The Mysore Administration contributed greatly to the creation of a better atmosphere within the State by the release of political prisoners, withdrawal of prosecutions and the appointment of a Reforms Committee, with wide terms of reference. The political workers in the Mysore State did not react generously to the conciliatory gestures of the Administration. We did not hesitate to press on the attention of the workers in the Mysore State the need for a generous response to the appeal for co-operation implied in the conciliatory measures undertaken by the Administration, on its own initiative and unconditionally.

A WRONG STEP

Judging by the latest developments, it would appear that strife is inherent in the conditions within the State. Only, in the manner in which the strife has developed, the Administration has led itself to take a step which it must, sooner or later, retract. We refer to the prohibition

on the hoisting of the Congress flag on the occasion of a Congress convention, the defiance of the prohibition by the workers, the arrests, trials, and convictions, and the determination of the workers to defend the Congress flag by continuing to defy the prohibition of the flag. We would be rendering no service to the Administration, if we did not state unequivocally our decisive conclusion that the prohibition of the Congress flag in the circumstances in which it was sought to be displayed, constituted an indefensible denial of an elementary

right stated by the Dewan in his address to the Representative Assembly on the 16th October, 1937, as follows:

I should like here to make clear our policy regarding the Congress Flag. we have no more objection to the display of its emblem (i.e. the Congress Flag) at places or on occasions which are connected with legitimate party activities than we have to the display of the emblems of other parties or sectional bodies. But we cannot permit it to be displayed in a spirit of hostility to the State flag or under conditions which are liable to ensure provocation or annoyance to persons who are not members of the party. The words within the brackets are our own.

THE TESTS

Let us apply the Dewan's tests. The hoisting of the Congress flag was on the occasion of a convention of political workers accepting the Congress flag as their flag. It was therefore a display contemplated by the Dewan, namely display at places or on occasions which are connected with legitimate party activities. No allegation is even made that the display was in a spirit of hostility to the State flag. Nor can the display be said to be under conditions which are liable to cause provocation or annoyance to persons who are not members of the party. The Convention was a private gathering for admission to which was by invitations and cards of admission, which were issued only to persons sharing the views of the organisers. Non-Congressmen could not go to the Convention except as trespassers.

Thus, applying every one of the tests proposed by the Dewan, the organisers of the Mysore Congress Convention had earned the right to hoist the Congress flag, without any interference by the

differences on political issues, our entire sympathy and support go to the workers in Mysore, who are demonstrating their courage of conviction by coming forward to defy the prohibition of the Flag and to bear the consequences.

TEST OF SINCERITY

We have no reason to believe that prison life in Mysore is less onerous than prison life in British India. The workers who have been arrested are persons who exchanged prison life for a short-lived freedom, due to the exercise of clemency by the Administration. The firmness with which the workers in Mysore have met the challenge to the Congress Flag is a proof of the sincerity of the convictions for which they have cheerfully exchanged their freedom for prison life.

THE ISSUE

Let us consider the issue. The Administration had taken the view in the earlier stages, that the activities of the Congressmen were open to objection, by reason of the interference of British Indian publicmen, unconnected with Mysore in any way. The Congress Flag was viewed as a symbol of activity of outsiders within the State. The objection to the intervention of British Indian publicmen apart, it was expressly

Administration.

LAST ARGUMENT

The only argument that can be urged is that if an Executive order is issued, contrary to the Dewan's own formula, the proper course is to obey the order and then to move the Dewan. But the workers can well plead that the Executive could not have acted without the Dewan's previous knowledge and consent and that if the Dewan did not agree with the Executive order, false prestige should not stand in the way of its cancellation.

Nor can the onlooker fail to note that the issue of the ban on the Flag synchronised with the release by the workers to the Press of the text of the draft resolutions, condemning the Reforms Committee and proclaiming a policy of non-co-operation. Out of evil cometh good, so the proverb runs. We can only hope that out of the present strife in Mysore, there may emerge at an early date, a more lasting political peace, based on a mutual acceptance of reciprocal obligations and responsibilities. We tender our congratulations to the workers of Mysore for demonstrating their intrinsic strength, disproving the suggestion that the workers in Mysore were sustained by British Indian agitation only.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS HIGHNESS
THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

~~SECRET~~ ORDER No.

Dated, Bangalore, the 19th April 1938

With a view to remove misapprehensions that still appear to be entertained in certain quarters about the attitude of Government towards the "Congress Flag", it is considered necessary to explain more clearly the policy of Government in regard to this matter.

In his opening Address to the Representative Assembly in October 1937, the Dewan observed:-

" I should like here to make clear our policy regarding the Congress Flag. We have a flag of the Empire and we have a flag of the State. But that intermediate entity India, has not yet been welded into a federation, nor has an All-India Government promulgated any universally accepted emblem of our nationality which is common both to Provinces and to States and comprehends all the communities and groups of the Indian peoples. The Congress is a great political party, and we have no more objection to the display of its emblem at places or on occasions which are connected with legitimate party activities than we have to the display of the emblems of other parties or sectional bodies. But we cannot permit it to be displayed in a spirit of hostility to the State flag, or under conditions which are liable to cause provocation or annoyance to persons who are not members of the party. I hope that this statement of the case will serve to remove all occasion for misunderstanding on this subject hereafter."

The Government have no wish to interfere with the use of any colours, flag or other emblem either to indicate in a peaceful and unprovocative manner political opinions or proposals in regard to what is intended to be for the good of the subjects of the State, so long as such opinions or proposals and the manner of advocating them are not incompatible with ^{loyalty to the Ruler of the State,} loyalty or to indicate adherence to any party or body holding such opinions or advocating such proposals in a peaceful and loyal manner. Such use of colours ~~or flags or other emblems~~ by individuals or at party meetings ~~as~~ in orderly processions which are not likely to provoke any breach of the peace, is permissible. But the Government cannot ^{allow} any ceremonial hoisting, unfurling or saluting of any flag or other emblem in any public place or place open to the public so as to express allegiance to any authority outside the State or so as to express, in contravention or qualification of allegiance to His Highness the Maharaja, subordination or obedience to any political organization or body established or directed from outside the borders of the State. Such must be the intention or implication if a political flag instituted by some authority or body outside the State is ceremoniously hoisted and ~~honoured within the State and that is, therefore, prohibited~~ Such ceremonies are quite unnecessary for the propagation of legitimate political opinions. Loyal subjects of His Highness the Maharaja can express any political opinion compatible with their loyalty under the Flag of the State. No flag may be set up or used in competition with that Flag or in any manner derogatory to that Flag, which it should be the pride of all loyal subjects of the State and all patriotic Mysoreans to honour.

In a Press Communique issued a few days later, it was further explained that the implication of the statement of policy outlined in the Dewan's Address was: "that the flag should not be hoisted in public places, but that Government would not object to its display in private places in connection with the normal activities of the party" and that "while there was no objection to the Congress Flag being hoisted in private places or on occasions connected with the party's activities in their own premises, it should not be hoisted in public places, as it would be derogatory to the State Flag".

While the policy of Government as indicated in the above announcements remains unchanged, some doubts appear to have been felt regarding the exact scope of the intentions of Government. The following further instructions are, therefore, issued in elucidation of the policy of Government in this matter.

While it is not the intention of Government to prohibit the display of a party flag at purely party meetings in their own premises or in processions, they cannot allow any flag, other than the Mysore Flag to be hoisted and saluted with any ceremony in a public place or a place open to the public. What Government object to is the ceremonial hoisting and saluting or the display in any such places, of any flag other than the State Flag, under circumstances which detract from the Sovereignty of His Highness the Maharaja, and the dignity and importance of the State Flag. This is a point of view which the Government trust will be appreciated by every patriotic Mysorean and every loyal subject of His Highness the Maharaja.

Chief Secretary to Government.

To
The District Magistrates.

Subd with the last
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 Notes
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the Government of
 Raja of Mysore.

the April 1938.

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While the policy of Government as indicated in the above announcements remains unchanged, some doubts ^{appear} ~~soon~~ to have been felt regarding the exact scope of the intentions of Government. ~~in this behalf~~.

The following further instructions are therefore issued in elucidation of the policy of Government ^{in this behalf} ~~regarding the Congress Flag~~.

While it is not the intention of Government to prohibit the display of a party flag at purely party meetings ^{in their own premises} or in processions, they cannot allow any flag, other than the Mysore Flag, to be hoisted and saluted with any ceremony in a public place or a place open to the public. What Government object to is the ceremonial ^{display} hoisting and saluting ^{or display in} of any flag, other than the State Flag, in circumstances which cannot but reflect upon the Sovereignty of His Highness the Maharaja and the dignity and importance of the State Flag. This is a point of view which the Government trust will be appreciated by every loyal subject of His Highness the Maharaja.

display -
in their own premises
place

The Dist. Magistrates.
Copy to I.G. of Police.
Copy to Registrar, H.C.
PRESS TABLE.

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Chief Secretary to Government.

To

The District Magistrates.

Copy to Inspector General of Police.

Copy to Registrar, High Court.

Press Table.

FEDERATED INDIA

Wednesday, 20th April, 1938

The Congress "Flag" in Indian States

Since Mrs. Besant instituted the National Flag in India soon after her internment on the cool heights of Ootacamund, the hoisting or the exhibition of a flag has assumed increasing importance. The Government of India has never been so oblivious to Indian national sentiment as in this respect, of expecting the Union Jack to function and suffice for the flag of India. The question was raised on the floor of the Council of State by the late lamented the Hon. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar and met with a very perfunctory response from the spokesman on behalf of the Government of India. Apart from the question of an agreed "National Flag" for India, the Congress flag which is the lineal descendent of Mrs. Besant's flag has come to be regarded as the symbol of Indian nationalism by Congress-minded people all over India, including a few Indian States. The Congress stands today for independence of British rule and yet its flag has been suffered to be hoisted over public institutions under the control of the Crown. It is frankly no more than a political party flag, but that party whose flag it is, has received the support of the country on an unprecedented scale in the elections to autonomous Provincial legislatures. The creed of the Congress has not precluded that party from accepting office under the Crown, nor has the Crown chosen to object to the creed as militating against the party's acceptance of responsibility under the Crown. The Congress and the Crown have agreed to differ and accommodate each other notwithstanding the difference. Had the Congress declined office and stuck to the creed of independence, the Congress flag will be a flag of revolt, but action counts far more than asseveration and the flag is no more a symbol of the creed than a symbol of the action of the Congress. Where politics begins law ends and where law ends the logic of law or politics is not wanted by any factor including the Crown.

In this fascinating situation what is the position of an Indian State that does not want to run the risk of tolerating the

Congress flag which stands as a symbol of the nationalism of the Congress, wedded to independence of British rule and political unification of all India under a democratic Government chosen by adult franchise? No Indian State can be expected to formulate its policy towards the "Congress flag" with any degree of logical correctness unless it is prepared to permit an undesirable outburst of resentment accompanied by breaches of promulgated orders leading to use of force. No Government should be squeamish about putting down disorder or any act of revolt against it, irrespective of the consequences. At the same time, where large sections of the public are dominated by a sentiment towards a symbol, there is no good trying to put it out of the pale of law. That symbol may be interpreted in many ways and putting the most objectionable interpretation upon it in an unquestionably permissible manner, is it worth while to create an atmosphere of embitterment and strife so decidedly inimical to harmony and progress over a matter of inoffensive sentiment, probably a worthy and admirable sentiment? No ruler of an Indian state, we may unchallengeably assert, will be averse to seeing India with its multitudinous rivalries and antagonisms, a free and independent country, governing itself under a system of unfettered universal adult franchise without force or coercion, the envy of the world, the exemplar of humanity elsewhere, the realisation of the unrealised ideal in actual life. This is the aspiration which the Congress flag symbolises to millions of people in India today. Are there not so many images of Lord Buddha, of Sri Krishna and Sri Rama and symbols of Lord Siva who made his throat the receptacle of an all destructive emanation, are there not these symbols which every State tolerates as constituting freedom of worship? Similarly, why should there not be freedom of worship of a political symbol of an ideal which deserves well of princes and peasants, of the rich and the poor, of the lucky and the unlucky alike? The Congress flag has become the flag of an aspiration, by no means provocative, and deserves nothing better than serene indifference from the most pronounced protagonist of the existing order of things. What Congressmen do is of greater moment than what they choose to go round and prostrate in the Eastern style or stand erect and salute in the Western fashion.

We are clearly of the view that no Indian State can justifiably put too strict or legal an interpretation on the Congress creed or the Congress flag. The point of paramount importance is that the Congress party has sworn allegiance to the British Crown, has come forward to shoulder the burden of practical administration, has been incurring a lot of odium on this account and has solemnly promised to translate into action admirable but thoroughly impracticable pledges—all of which require the continuance of a stable Government. The flag of such a party is certainly not a flag of revolt against the paramount power or against the ruler of a State. The Government of Mysore did very well in not going against the flag once it was hoisted at the Mysore State Congress; and the technical offence of disobeying the magisterial order against hoisting the flag having been dealt with by the Magistrate, we trust that the Government will release the convicted persons and reconsider the policy of forbidding the hoisting of the flag so long as the Congress party has no objection to accept responsibility under the British constitution, whenever under the provisions of the Act it can do so. As we have urged above, its action and not its asseveration is of moment with statesmen in England, British India or in an Indian State and we hope the Government of Mysore will further push forward their policy of liberalisation and recognition of civic freedom by releasing the prisoners and not prohibiting the flag of any party so long as that party is law-abiding in its conduct.

Travancore Politics

Seeking a wider platform for publicity, some of the representatives of the Travancore State Congress came to Madras to place before the public their grievances on account of the repressive policy of the present Travancore Government. A meeting to hear them was organised by the Madras Civil Liberties Union in conjunction with the Madras branch of the Travancore State Congress under the presidency of the Chairman of the Civil Liberties Union. Messrs Thanu Pillay and T. M. Verghese, members of the Travancore Representative Assembly, and Mr. K. P. Thomas, Joint Secretary of the Travancore State Congress, addressed the meeting at great length setting forth the salient features of the policy pursued by the Government under the direction of Sir C. P. Ramasamy Iyer. We are glad to note that the speeches made were marked by restraint and consideration due to the enlightened ruler of the State. Nor was there any exhibition of personal bitterness against the Dewan, although the sum total of their speeches had naturally to refer to his policy. No one will deny that the mission has served a useful purpose and the main object of enlightening the press and the citizens of Madras has been achieved.

Where we are however unable to follow the leaders of the State Congress who spoke at Madras is what they exactly mean when they claim liberty to carry on propaganda for the grant of "Responsible Government". Freedom of propaganda cannot be denied by any Government which desires to enjoy a reputation for a progressive policy in carrying on the administration of a territory. Of course, if the propaganda were to endanger the stability of a Government, the freedom is liable to be restrained. There could be no claim of freedom to disrupt an existing system of Government in such a manner as to entirely shift the fountain source of authority. In case such a claim is discountenanced by the Government, and those who are for it are insistent upon defying the Government, then there could only be one end to such a situation and that end must be brought about by the result of an open strife. Matters in Travancore have not reached this stage and we hope there will be no need for such a culmination of the present agitation.

THE MOHENDRA PUBLISHING COMMITTEE

English Works by S. J. Dutta are as follows:

	Price.....Rs. A.
1. Dissertation on Pointing	2-8
2. Reflections on Woman	1-4
3. Appreciation of Michael Dutta	4
4. Natural Religion	12
5. Mind	12
6. Energy	12
7. Metaphysics	12

The books have been highly appreciated by scholars like Romain Rolland and other eminent scholars of the east and west.

3, GOUR MOHAN MUKHERJEE STREET,
CALCUTTA.

Chief Secy,
20TH APRIL 1938

Submitted for perusal.
18/4/38
21.4.38
FEDERATED INDIA

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Phone see Mr. P. 7

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Wednesday, 20th. April, 1938.

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Since Mrs. Besant instituted the National Flag in India soon after her internment on the cool heights of Ootacamund, the hoisting or the exhibition of a flag has assumed increasing importance. The Government of India has never been so oblivious to Indian national sentiment as in this respect, of expecting the Union Jack to function and suffice for the flag of India. The question was raised on the floor of the Council of State by the late lamented the Hon. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar and met with a very perfunctory response from the spokesman on behalf of the Government of India. Apart from the question of an agreed "National Flag" for India, the Congress flag which is the lineal descendent of Mrs. Besant's flag has come to be regarded as the symbol of Indian nationalism by Congress-minded people all over India, including a few Indian States. The Congress stands today for independence of British rule and yet its flag has been suffered to be hoisted over public institutions under the control of the Crown. It is frankly no more than a political party flag, but that party whose flag it is, has received the support of the country on an unprecedented scale in the elections to autonomous Provincial legislatures. The creed of the Congress has not precluded that party from accepting office under the Crown, nor has the Crown chosen to object to the creed as militating against the party's acceptance of responsibility under the Crown. The Congress and the Crown have agreed to differ and accommodate each other, notwithstanding the difference. Had the Congress declined office and stuck to the creed of independence, the Congress flag will be a flag of revolt, but, action counts far more than asseveration and the flag is no more a symbol of the creed than a symbol of the action of the Congress. Where politics begins, law ends and where law ends the logic of law or politics is not wanted by any factor including the Crown.

In this fascinating situation what is the position of an Indian State that does not want to run the risk of tolerating the

Congress flag which stands as a symbol of the nationalism of the Congress, wedded to independence of British rule and political unification of all India under a democratic Government chosen by adult franchise? No Indian State can be expected to formulate its policy towards the "Congress flag" with any degree of logical correctness unless it is prepared to permit an undesirable outburst of resentment accompanied by breaches of promulgated orders leading to use of force. No Government should be squeamish about putting down disorder or any act of revolt against it, irrespective of the consequences. At the same time, where large sections of the public are dominated by a sentiment towards a symbol, there is no good trying to put it out of the pale of law. That symbol may be interpreted in many ways and putting the most objectionable interpretation upon it in an unquestionably permissible manner, is it worth while to create an atmosphere of embitterment and strife so decidedly inimical to harmony and progress, over a matter of inoffensive sentiment, probably a worthy and admirable sentiment? No ruler of an Indian state, we may unchallengeably assert, will be averse to seeing India, with its multitudinous rivalries and antagonisms, a free and independent country, governing itself under a system of unfettered universal adult franchise, without force or coercion, the envy of the world, the exemplar of humanity elsewhere, the realisation of the unrealised ideal in actual life. This is the aspiration which the Congress flag symbolises to millions of people in India today. Are there not so many images of Lord Buddha, of Sri Krishna and Sri Rama and symbols of Lord Siva who made his throat the receptacle of an all destructive emanation, are there not these symbols which every State tolerates as constituting freedom of worship? Similarly, why should there not be freedom of worship of a political symbol of an ideal which deserves well of princes and peasants, of the rich and the poor, of the lucky and the unlucky alike? The Congress flag has become the flag of an aspiration, by no means provocative, and deserves nothing better than serene indifference from the most pronounced protagonist of the existing order of things. What Congressmen do is of greater moment than what they choose to go round and prostrate in the Eastern style or stand erect and salute in the Western fashion.

We are clearly of the view that no Indian State can justifiably put too strict or legal an interpretation on the Congress creed or the Congress flag. The point of paramount importance is that the Congress party has sworn allegiance to the British Crown; has come forward to shoulder the burden of practical administration, has been incurring a lot of odium on this account and has solemnly promised to translate into action admirable but thoroughly impracticable pledges—all of which require the continuance of a stable Government. The flag of such a party is certainly not a flag of revolt against the paramount power or against the ruler of a State. The Government of Mysore did very well in not going against the flag once it was hoisted at the Mysore State Congress, and the technical offence of disobeying the magisterial order against hoisting the flag having been dealt with by the Magistrate, we trust that the Government will release the convicted persons and reconsider the policy of forbidding the hoisting of the flag so long as the Congress party has no objection to accept responsibility under the British constitution, whenever under the provisions of the Act it can do so. As we have urged above, its action and not its asseveration is of moment with statesmen in England, British India or in an Indian State and we hope the Government of Mysore will further push forward their policy of liberalisation and recognition of civic freedom by releasing the prisoners and not prohibiting the flag of any party so long as that party is law-abiding in its conduct.

THE MOHENDRA PUBLISHING COMMITTEE

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Travancore Politics

Seeking a wider platform for publicity, some of the representatives of the Travancore State Congress came to Madras to place before the public their grievances on account of the repressive policy of the present Travancore Government. A meeting to hear them was organised by the Madras Civil Liberties Union in conjunction with the Madras branch of the Travancore State Congress under the presidency of the Chairman of the Civil Liberties Union. Messrs Thanu Pillay and T. M. Verghese, members of the Travancore Representative Assembly, and Mr. K. P. Thomas, Joint Secretary of the Travancore State Congress, addressed the meeting at great length setting forth the salient features of the policy pursued by the Government under the direction of Sir C. P. Ramasamy Iyer. We are glad to note that the speeches made were marked by restraint and consideration due to the enlightened ruler of the State. Nor was there any exhibition of personal bitterness against the Dewan, although the sum-total of their speeches had naturally to refer to his policy. No one will deny that the mission has served a useful purpose and the main object of enlightening the press and the citizens of Madras has been achieved.

Where we are however unable to follow the leaders of the State Congress who spoke at Madras is what they exactly mean when they claim liberty to carry on propaganda for the grant of "Responsible Government". Freedom of propaganda cannot be denied by any Government which desires to enjoy a reputation for a progressive policy in carrying on the administration of a territory. Of course, if the propaganda were to endanger the stability of a Government, the freedom is liable to be restrained. There could be no claim of freedom to disrupt an existing system of Government in such a manner as to entirely shift the fountain source of authority. In case such a claim is discountenanced by the Government, and those who are for it are insistent upon defying the Government, then there could only be one end to such a situation and that end must be brought about by the result of an open strife. Matters in Travancore have not reached this stage and we hope there will be no need for such a culmination of the present agitation.

The main weakness in the position of any State Congress is the vague use of the term "Responsible Government". No State Congress fails to add "under the aegis of the Maharajah" whenever it demands the grant of Responsible Government by him. This saving phrase, "under the aegis", leaves one uninformed. If the "Government" is to become responsible to a popular legislature, the question ought to be answered: what is the responsibility of the "Government" to the Maharajah? No Government can be simultaneously responsible to a popular legislature and a hereditary ruler. Is the "Government" the executive of the Legislature or the executive of the Maharajah? In the next place, with whom does the control of the purse rest—with the ruler or the Legislature? Is the Civil list of the Maharajah liable to be altered by the vote of the Legislature or is it exempt from its vote? Unless the Travancore State Congress makes these issues explicitly clear, whatever else it may reiterate, the question will be left in a dubious position. There is one vital difference between the claim for Responsible Government in British India and in an Indian State. In British India the theoretical demand is for independence in the first instance, for self-government in the next instance, and "responsible government" in the last instance and ultimately the Congress accepts semblance of responsible government under the Government of India Act of 1935. These claims ensue from the fact that a foreign nation rules India. That part of India is actually known as "British India". On

the other hand, in an Indian State, so far as the people are concerned, there is no foreign rule and there is *swarajya* in every sense of the word as opposed to *pararajya*. The ruler is under a treaty with a foreign power and the advantage is certainly mutual, in so far as no other foreign power can violate the independence of the State. The Government of the State cannot be described as "responsible"—although constitutional limitations to ensure popular safety, progress and prosperity have been laid down in varying degrees of adequacy. If there is no room for the claim of *swarajya* in an Indian State, there can only be a claim for responsible government by the popular party. And responsibility to a Legislature may conflict with answerability to the ruler. Is the ruler to surrender his control over the purse and the executive to the Legislature, or is he to grant responsible government subject to this ulterior control? If it is to be the latter, the demand for reforms may be made in an unambiguous manner and all undesirable aspects of a political agitation may be avoided.

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BERLIN LETTER

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

Id-ul-Adha in Berlin

Berlin takes such a prominent part in world events that it is only natural that the influence of this metropolitan city radiates ever farther into the world. If any capital has monopolized this field it is Berlin, the National Socialist Capital city, that has begun energetically to assert and to play the leading role in a cosmopolitan sense in the world. By this I mean that the festivals and affairs of the oriental lands, India, Egypt, Afghanistan, Arabia and Turkey, are playing a role that makes Berlin a central pivot of oriental events.

The Indian Club had a successful "Independence Day" gathering a short time ago, and on February 11, the Islamic Association observed the festival of "Id-ul-Adha" not only as an affair for Muslims but as an event for all orientals in Berlin. It is astonishing how the orient has been unified in Berlin; without a doubt when orientals live in a country where the feeling of national union is so strong it naturally affects also their own character. The Egyptian Ambassador, Prof. Nachat Pascha, Ph.D., has the role of leader, not because he particularly wants it, but rather because his close connection with orientals and especially with Indians makes him the natural choice. A short time ago the Egyptian Club, under the patronage of His Excellency Prof. Nachat Pascha, arranged a party in Berlin in connection with the marriage of H. M. King Faruq, and worthy of especial notice is the fact that not only were the Muslim brothers invited but also the Hindu brothers. And very many Hindu brothers took part in this celebration.

Similar was the case at the Id-ul-Adha feast where the Islamic Association offered their prayers in the beautifully decorated rooms of the Egyptian Embassy, followed by a cordial reception for the oriental colony given by Nachat Pascha.

In the evening, the Islamic Association sponsored a lecture at Berlin's finest hotel, the Kaiserhof. The subject of this lecture was "The Art of Oriental Rugs," and it was given by Dr. Erdmann illustrated by slides. The Kaiserhof Hotel, by the way, is that well-known hotel where Adolf Hitler lived before his taking over of power, and that figures prominently in the world-famous book by Dr. Goebbels, "From the Hotel Keiserhof to the Reich Chancellery." The cordial reception given by the Germans to this lecture on oriental rugs is especially surprising, because the propaganda wave continued in the world declaring that Germany hates the coloured races. There is only one reason for this propaganda: that an imperialistic power will not tolerate India and the orient finding a friend in any European nation. Prominent members of the National Socialist Party were present at this event, representing the Propaganda Ministry, the Foreign Office, and the Orient Union. The German Orient Union is an organisation whose constant endeavour is to produce the best of relations between the Orient

and Germany. If an Indian comes to Berlin, the Orient Union always gives a reception—for instance the reception for Birla from Calcutta.

The Quadian Sect also possesses a mosque in Berlin. Prayers were filmed there; two Muslim women ejected the camera man from the mosque and thereupon arose a violent dispute.

Political Events in Germany and the Foreign Press

Ministerialrat Berndt invited the accredited foreign press representatives to the Propaganda Ministerium and welcomed them heartily in the name of the Reich Minister for enlightenment of the People and Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels, as well as the Reich Press Chief, Dr. Dietrich. After the welcoming address, Berndt appealed to the representatives of the world press to judge recent events for themselves. What the foreign press is reporting at the moment concerning the newest developments comes from Jewish sources in Poland who have planted the rumour in the world that great unrest rules in Germany and that the army is in a state of rebellion. The German army has always been non-political and it will continue being so, according to Herr Berndt. Even worse are the reports of the Roumanian press that revolution hovers over Germany and that street riots are taking place in Berlin, with the SS and the army fighting one another. It has even been stated by some newspapers, among them the English, that the Crown Prince has fled from Germany. It is hard to believe that such reports could be in circulation. The Crown Prince is skiing in Portugal and will soon return to Germany. That the German frontier is closed is also reported by the English press and also that the frontier guards have been greatly strengthened. Reports that the Fuehrer has lost his voice and other lying propaganda against Germany are produced at the moment by the Jewish press. Herr Berndt appealed to the representatives of the foreign press to listen only to the voice of Truth and Honour and not to drag their profession in the dirt. Members of the world press put several questions to Berndt when he expressed his readiness to give out information, and his remarks were received enthusiastically by the journalists. The representatives of the foreign press in Berlin will, therefore, take pains that the truth about Germany be proclaimed. Your correspondent was also invited to this gathering and is convinced that such lies as have been mentioned here can only endanger world relations. There is a certain class who seek satisfaction in such sensational reports. If a change has been made in Germany, it has been done only because of the poor state of health of certain gentlemen. There is no revolution and no bombarding of official buildings, and no street fighting such as is reported in various foreign newspapers. The journalistic profession is a high, honourable, truth-loving profession which must not be degraded by spreading untruths about a land. Berlin, 14-2-38.

MYSORE LETTER

(From Our Bangalore Correspondent.)

The successful termination of the Mysore State's Congress Convention at Sivpur this week has been the all embracing topic of the day. The Convention camp was designed and arranged on the lines of the Haripur Congress camp of the Indian National Congress and all amenities for the huge gathering were thoughtfully provided for. The Convention itself was so largely attended by a number of villagers from far and near, not to speak of the Congress members and delegates. So far as the public function was concerned, it went off very well but it left an unhealable sore in the minds of the public in regard to the hoisting of the National Flag which was prohibited by the District Magistrate and for defying which unfortunately eight leaders (seven men and one lady) were convicted to various terms of punishment, both fine and imprisonment. These arrests were a great shock to the huge masses that had assembled there, yet they acted with such self-restraint that nothing untoward happened. Credit under such circumstances goes to the leaders who held sway over the masses. The Congress believes that in hoisting the National Flag it was acting on the open assurance given by the highest in authority according to which there was no objection to it whatever at places or on occasions which were connected with the legitimate party activities. It is also contended that the place was not a public one with in the meaning of statutes as the land belonged to a private individual and the Convention camp was pitched with his permission. They further declare in unequivocal terms that as their aim is to secure Responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja and as such they could entertain no hostility or disrespect to the Mysore Flag. The public are of the opinion that the District Magistrate's order was high-handed.

Political Affairs Committee

The inaugural meeting of the Political Affairs Committee which is a standing one to advise the Government on matters of internal administration and external relationships came off this afternoon in the Public Offices. Rajamantrapravina Mr. S. P. Rajagopala Chariar, the Chairman of the Committee, delivered his inaugural address, in the course of which he said:

"We are living in an era of constitutional experiment, tending, on the one hand, towards an autocratic direction of men's speech and writings and even of their thoughts, and, on the other, to discussions in the press and on the platform, often of a most indiscreet kind, of the words and actions, and often of what are asserted to be the inmost thoughts, of the men who are responsible for great decisions."

It must be obvious to any one who thinks about the matter that a government that is worthy of the name is likely to be in possession of fuller information than the newspapers, and to have before it many considerations that are not apparent to the platform orator but at the

same time that to place these before the public before the information is complete or before a question is ripe for decision is often likely to lead to difficulties and to prejudice the satisfactory disposal of the matter in issue.

We do not propose to ask you to record any formal decisions, or to take any responsibility for the conclusions at which the Government may arrive. Your responsibility will be that of laying fully and frankly before the Government the points of view of the interests which you represent.

We do ask you, for reasons which will be obvious, and for your own sakes as much as for ours, to respect absolutely the confidence that is placed in you, and to impart to no one outside the Committee anything that you have learned from one another or from the documents that have been placed before you. It is as well that this rule should be absolute, since partial exceptions are apt to lead to misunderstandings. You will be in this respect members of a Privy Council.

I anticipate that the Committee will very soon come to be recognised as an integral and important part of the Government machine and that it will exercise a very great influence, not only upon the work of the administration, but also upon the public life of the State."

There are 14 members on the Committee of whom 12 members attended. The two absent were members of the Mysore State Congress who were bound by the decision of the convention not to co-operate.

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= BOOK REVIEWS =

INDIAN COTTON REVIEW FOR 1937-38, published by Chunilal Mehta & Co., Ltd., 51 Marwari Bazar, Bombay.

The Indian Cotton Review, which has been in existence for the last ten years, has well-nigh reached the position of a standard reference book for all those who are directly or indirectly interested in cotton trade. One is impressed by the pains that have been taken to make the review both useful and instructive. The statistical tables which obviously have been compiled with great care contain a wealth of information not easily to be had. The chapter on Prospects Ahead is particularly instructive, while special mention must also be made of statistical tables on "The Money Value of India Crops", "The Indian Cotton Balance Sheet", and "The World Supply, Distribution and Stocks of Indian Cotton". (27-11-37.) B. N. R.

REPORT OF THE INDIA LAC CESS COMMITTEE FOR THE PERIOD 1st April 1936 to 31st March 1937.

This publication will be highly appreciated by all those who are interested in the lac trade. Fairly copious notes are given on lac research in India, the United Kingdom and U. S. A. Besides it contains some useful statistical tables. (25-12-37.) B. N. R.

THE NATIONAL YEAR BOOK 1938. The Book Company, Limited, College Square, Calcutta, Price Rupee one.

The Year Book is obviously intended for students appearing for competitive examinations. There is nothing new or original about the book. There is all the usual information about political economic and other matters. If for nothing else, the book may be recommended for those to whom it is intended on account of the superior paper and large types used, which should greatly reduce the strain on the eyes of examiners.

A subject index as distinct from an alphabetical index would be of considerable help to readers. Under "Federal Court", the name of Sir Alladi wrongly spelt as Allathi Krishnaswamy Iyer has been included. This is a glaring mistake. The index gives the page number for "Film statistics" as 227, though they appear on page 221. Under the section "Government of India", the name of the Commander-in-Chief is given distinct from the names of the other members of the Executive Council. What we mean is that the Commander-in-Chief has not been included as a member of the Executive Council. This is a serious blunder which is calculated to mislead readers.

We hope that all these mistakes will be corrected in subsequent editions. (5-2-38.) B. N. R.

NATION BUILDING—A FIVE YEARS PLAN FOR THE PROVINCES By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, Price Rs 12.

Some time ago Sir M. Visvesvaraya delivered a brief address on "Economic Planning" at a meeting of the members of the Congress Party in the Bombay Legislature, when he promised to present a written note giving a fuller exposition of the scope and structure of a Five Year Plan for the Provinces. The brochure under review is the outcome of the promise.

"Nation Building" may be regarded as an abridged version of the economist-engineer's great book "Planned Economy for India". The proposals made in that book were more or less of an academic nature, since under the old order of things, it was not possible to carry out any far reaching scheme of economic reconstruction. With the establishment of popular ministries however the proposals have assumed practical importance. It is true that responsibility at the Centre has not yet become an accomplished fact, but the provinces have become at least partially autonomous. The Five Year Plan for a province will form part of Federal plan but till the establishment of the Federal Government, each province will have its own plan.

According to the writer, National Development comprises three features. They are: the liquidation of illiteracy, rapid industrialisation and training the people in the art of defence. The last at any rate is beyond the competence of the provinces or for the matter of that of even the Federal Legislature. But in the other two spheres, it would be possible for popular ministries to undertake at least some ameliorative measures.

The initiation of a Five Year Plan for each province, the creation of a Government Economic Department and of an Economic Council to advise the government and lastly the provision of a Development Budget partly financed from current revenues and partly by public loans: there are the items in Sir M. Visvesvaraya's scheme of economic planning. This is the mechanism of planning, whose objective is to double the national income in the course of ten years. It might be regarded as a too ambitious plan but given goodwill, there is no reason why it should not succeed at least partially. The poverty of the masses is so abject that they will feel grateful even for small mercies.

Sir Visvesvaraya's proposals are not inherently impractical. No doubt he advocates greater participation of the state in economic activities, but he is not interested in Socialism. He has obviously great faith in the Congress Party. Says he "whatever happens there should be no weakening of the goal of a strong and United India. The best guarantee for this will be the continued unbroken unity of the Congress Party itself". We cannot conclude the review better than on this optimistic note. (30-10-37.) B. N. R.

THE CHOLAS. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Vol. II parts I and II. Demy 8 vo. P X. 934. (Published by the University of Madras, 1937. Price for both parts Rs. 10 or 15 sh.)

Though it is well realised that the contributions of South India to Indian culture has not been inconsiderable and that the history of South India is at least as old as that of North India, yet a comprehensive and systematic history of this part of the country is still to be written. Attempts have been made during the last few years to write the history of some of the important dynasties that have ruled over this part of the country, but due to the lack of sufficient reliable material the conclusions arrived at have been more of a tentative character.

Among the important dynasties that have ruled over the country that of the Cholas is one. Under them South India attained to great heights in the spheres of public administration, local government, maritime and commercial activity, art, letters and religion. A study of the history of the Cholas is therefore of exceptional interest. Professor Nilakanta Sastri undertook a comprehensive and detailed survey of the history of the Chola empire based on a systematic and careful study of the tradition, literature and inscriptions, which of late have increased in such huge numbers that a masterly handling of them is not an easy task, and brought out his first volume on the Cholas which took us from the beginnings of Chola history to the days of Kulottunga I. It was published by the Madras University in 1934. This has been followed by the volume under review in which Professor Nilakanta Sastri continues his account of the Chola history to its end and gives an account of the political and administrative institutions that obtained under them and the social life of the people in the period. His treatment of the subject is as thorough as it is detailed.

The accession of Kulottunga I to the Chola heritage marked the commencement of a new era in South India. Kulottunga, having been in constant war with Vikramaditya prior to his accession to the Chola throne and being surrounded by inimical rulers all around him, had no peaceful rule. He established a number of military colonies in the Pandya and Chera kingdoms and held the areas under control. He led two successful expeditions against Kalinga country. The closing years of his eventful reign marked the invasion of his empire in the Ganga country and the loss of the Vengi country to Vikramaditya. Relations with foreign powers were maintained as can be seen from the embassies that existed between Kulottunga and Srivijaya. To effect the economic unification of his empire Kulottunga removed the inland tolls and customs throughout his empire and undertook two "Doomsday" surveys both of which earned for him a well merited name.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri then gives an account of the comparatively weak rules of Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II, and Rajadhiraja II. Kulottunga III, the greatest of the later Chola rulers, like Sriranga III of Vijayanagar was "a brave man struggling in the storms of fate." He was a vigorous ruler who engaged himself in frequent wars and thereby delayed the disruption of an overgrown empire. The period however saw the rise into prominence of feudatory chiefs like the Sambavarayas, Kadavarayas, Chedirayas, Malaiyamans, Banas, and Adigaimans who frequently concluded among themselves mutual compacts to assist one another which clearly indicates the growing weakness of the central government.

Kulottunga III was followed on the throne successively by Rajaraja and Rajendra, whose reigns were marked by civil commotions and foreign invasions. The Hoysalas were then rising into prominence and for some time concluded an alliance with the Pandyas against the Chola ruler. But later the policy was changed and the Hoysalas and Cholas entered into a compact against Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, who however defeated the Chola and laid him under tribute, and defeated and killed Someswara the Hoysala ruler in 1264, at a place near Kannanur. By the destruction of the Chola empire the ground was prepared for the invasion of South India by Malik Kafur. All this is told in a telling manner.

In the second half of the volume under review Professor Nilakanta Sastri examines the administrative and social institutions that obtained during the period. He strongly feels that "much greater things were accomplished by corporate and voluntary effort, a greater sense of social harmony prevailed and a consciousness of active citizenship was more wide spread when the Chola kings held their sway in Southern India than in more recent times." Prof. Sastri first discusses the general features of the government of the Chola empire and describes the administrative offices, the army organization, justice and other important subjects. He then examines how local government was carried on by village assemblies and similar voluntary organizations which were then more or less on the same footing in their relations with government and society. "The life and functioning of these rural institutions, the ultimate cells that sustained national existence were clearly little affected by dynastic wars and the shiftings of political power at the top."

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Taxation under the Cholas is discussed in a separate chapter. These were taxes on land, customs and octroi, profession tax, besides those on the produce of mines, forests and salt pans. Professor Sastri says "And the *corvi* was exacted with more or less regularity. When the cumulative effects of these burdens became too oppressive the people abandoned their home steads and betook themselves elsewhere; the fear of local depopulation was an overpresent check on the rapacity of the tax collector." This chapter is particularly interesting since in it are discussed the significance of the revenue terms used in the period and the method of assessment for lands held under different tenures.

As Professor Sastri says a study of the social divisions and standards of life among the people in the Chola days leaves one with the impression that there was social harmony removed alike from the placid content which knows no ambition and the blind and ruthless pursuit of class interests. We are here given an account of the mixed castes, Right and Left hand castes, the courtesans and the institution of slavery. Sati was not very common. Agricultural practice and land tenures are discussed in a separate chapter which is interesting and informative. Another chapter describes the growth of industry and trade under the Cholas; it gives us an idea of the merchant guilds that functioned in the State, credit and rates of interest, and the extent and articles of foreign trade in which South India was then engaged. A separate chapter is devoted to a descriptive account of the coins, weights and measures under the Cholas.

Professor Sastri is at his best in the last three chapters of the volume which deal with literature and religion under the Cholas. He thinks that the percentage of literacy in the population was not lower, it was probably higher, than the extremely low level revealed by recent censuses. Education was largely the concern of the local bodies and philanthropists rather than the Government. Endowments were made for the conduct of such institu-

tions. The curriculum included many subjects. We get reference to the existence of a medical school at Tiruvaduturai. The Chola period was one of religious movements, and temples and mathas were the most remarkable achievements of the age. Religious toleration was generally the rule, and persecution on the ground of religious differences was more due to the freak of individual rulers. Religious movements gave an impetus to literary activity and both Sanskrit and vernacular flourished, through royal patronage. In the closing chapter of this interesting volume Professor Sastri takes note of some of the more important literary celebrities of the period who are known to us through their works, and they include among others Kuttan, Kampan, Sekkilar and Venkata Madhava, the great scholar and commentator who anticipated Sayana two centuries later.

The second part of the volume under review contains very useful aids to serious study of the history of the Cholas during the period covered by the book. It contains a comprehensive list of the inscriptions of the later Cholas on which the account in the volume is largely based. The index provided at the end is as useful as it is comprehensive.

The book thus gives us a comprehensive survey of the political and social history of the period. Chola Art, which deserves a special monograph for itself has not been included in this book; and has been reserved for treatment in a separate volume. We hope that it will soon be published so that we can not only have a correct idea of the achievements of the Cholas in the field of architecture, but also assess their contributions to the development of South Indian architecture. T. S.

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The New Literary Movement in Andhra

(BY KOMARAVOLU CHANDRASEKHARAM BAPATLA.)

Man lives not only to eat and grow but to give expression to his finer and nobler sentiments. He has to develop and fertilize his artistic and imaginative faculties through the medium of language. In order that the expression may be perfect, the medium has to be moving and pliant. The language must lend itself to change. "Those languages which resist the spirit of change are doomed and will never produce great harvests of thought and literature."

Literature has to grow. It has to embrace readily all new ideas and thoughts. Translations of great works of foreign literatures must feed and enrich the indigenous ones. Unnecessary limitations that clip the wings of imagination ought to be removed.

"Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings. It is the breath and finer spirit of all true knowledge." It is the echo of the innermost cravings of the human heart conveyed through song. "It is a power which comes and goes like a dream." The utterance should be suggestive but not platitudinous; it should be imaginative but not pictorial.

If these ideals are forsaken, we must expect a base and empty literature like the modern Telugu literature. The morbid state of modern Telugu is recognized by competent critics. When a language so old as our own deteriorates some inquiry into the causes of decay seems advisable.

It is commonly asserted that Telugu literature is very vast and wide, that even old works like Andhra Mahabharata stand unequalled in their poetic splendour, and that therefore Telugu should never allow new and living terms to get in or old and rusty terms to get out. Telugus stick to the old order tenaciously. They have this profound conservatism sitting heavily in their hearts like a nightmare and forbidding them to accept any change. This kind of twopenny conservatism has been responsible for the rigidity and rickety growth of the Telugu language. Ever since Nannaya began his Bharata, this spirit has entirely dominated and possessed them that they have placidly acquiesced in a false appearance of excellence put on by Telugu.

This sordid state of contentment is made worse by ignorance—ignorance of the vast cultural treasures of Sanskrit that are our heritage. Blind and deaf to some of the highest things in poetry, ignorant of art and indifferent to the ever growing needs of the language, Telugus have been rejoicing in a commonplace materialism that gives them a glowing picture of their withering literature.

The 'Yathi' and 'Prasa' are considered so inseparably essential for Telugu that the purpose of poetry is wholly forgotten in the endeavour to conform to these rules. The tendency to write a few rhyming lines is irresistible. The desire to pass off for a poet is so keen that some pitiful rhyming has to be unavoidably resorted to and practised with a singular gusto. Our public are so genial and generous in this respect that they dub the pitiful rhymers a poet and stamp a kind of cheap sacred-

ness upon the tawdry works of the poor poetaster whose conscience is dead and who thinks he has won the spurs if he is but called a poet. They are so conventional as not to bestow thought upon the utility or honourableness of this practice. They are religiously convinced by whatever this fraternity of poetasters may choose to say. And thus are we confronted with a whole populace of trafficking and juggling literateurs assuming airs of superior wisdom. Is it not high time the tide of our base and empty literature was stemmed? Is it not our duty to remove the debris that has blocked the channels of our literature for ages? Is it not our sacred task to break all bonds that bind our Muse in order to allow her full freedom that she might love and bless us?

It is with these objects that we have started this movement. Our chief aim is to purge our literature of all rant that goes by the name of poetry and purify it top to bottom. We are pledged to direct the growth of our literature into proper channels and give it a new life. We are pledged to break all those chains of obsolete grammar that prevent our language from reaching its full stature and yielding plentiful crop of great literature that is for all time.

We have therefore instituted the Vangmaya Samithi, Triplicane, to spread this movement and publish those books that may be needed to understand our principles and translate them into practice. We have given a new grammar and metre to Telugu in consonance with our ideals. Our grammar permits the usage of all living and succulent words. It deprecates the imperfect intermixture of Telugu and Sanskrit. Our metre has been so devised as to secure the music and beauty of a fulsome rhythm without the nasty word-jingling produced by a strict observance of 'Yathi and Prasa.' We have published many other translations and commentaries.

If the purpose of our movement is fulfilled in its own good time, we will have conferred three permanent benefits on the Telugu language and literature. In the first place, the number of the ill-equipped and profiteering poetasters will be reduced. Secondly, a great cultural revival will be brought about. Lastly, the way will be paved for the rise of a great poet.

We feel we are bound to carry on this work which we have set for ourselves whether it is in the teeth of opposition or in the pleasant atmosphere of approving echoes. We therefore appeal to all those young men who love our language and who feel the genuine poetic urge to take up this work and help us in diverse ways.

If young men of Andhradesh are pulsating with a life-blood and vigour that have been her pride and possession, if they are patriots imbued with the love of their language, and if they have in them that poetic fire which should not let them sleep and ignore the decay of their culture but should grow into a blazing bonfire of delight, they will no longer remain slaves of the old order but become masters of the new one that we are attempting to establish.

BHONSLA MILITARY SCHOOL, NASIK

Maharaja of Gwalior's Opening Speech

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by His Highness The Maharaja Scindia Alijah Bahadur of Gwalior at the opening of the Bhonsla Military School, Nasik:—

It is unnecessary for me to say more than a few words on this auspicious occasion to thank you for the kindly and cordial feelings with which you have extended your welcome to me, but I can say with all sincerity that I am very grateful for this opportunity afforded to me of meeting you all here today and am still more grateful because you have thought well to give me the principal part in the ceremony which we have met here to perform this evening. I greatly appreciate the high honour you have assigned to me, and the very generous and cordial terms in which you have spoken about my ancestors and myself.

Several other local institutions have also very kindly extended hearty invitations to me to visit them during my stay here and nothing would have afforded me greater pleasure than to accede to their requests, but I very much regret that owing to various pressing engagements at Gwalior I am unable to accept their hospitality and trust they would not take my refusal amiss. All the same I fully appreciate their keen desire and I thank them most sincerely for their kind and generous feelings.

It has been a widely expressed desire that India should possess, as all other advanced countries do, institutions, where Indian youth might receive military training in order to equip them for the responsibilities of the country's defence. The Indian Military Academy was instituted in response to this long felt demand and every effort has since been made by the Government of India to bring it in line with similar institutions in other countries. To revive the military traditions and to meet the modern requirements of this country it is also necessary to have really good military schools. It is not a mere coincidence that within a short time of the opening of a first-rate Public School in India we are here to-day to open a first-rate Military School. Its significance lies in the fact that military training is as important a step in the advancement of a nation's progress as purely academic studies. To build up traditions in civil or military administration is not a matter of a day, it has got to be inculcated in the minds of boys from the very beginning and gradually developed till it matures into almost a religious fervour. For imparting general education to Indian boys, the Doon School at Dehra-Doon which is run on the lines of Public Schools in England, has recently been opened and there are a few other institutions of lesser importance in the country. This school, it is hoped, will enable us to train our youth in the art of war so that they may be able to take the proper place in the defence of our mother land. In order to make a nation worthy of its culture and military traditions it is necessary that proper training should be given to its youth from the very beginning. I fully subscribe to the oft-quoted maxim "Child is the

father of man." Unless you properly train a child you cannot expect much out of him when he grows to manhood. Mental and economic development without physical strength is bound to go to the wall in the struggle for existence, and the history of important civilised countries including India has the same testimony to bear. Greece, Rome and India in turn fell victims to foreign invasions only when their military strength weakened and they lost sight of the importance of physical culture. It is, therefore, necessary that youth in India should be trained in all the three aspects of life, namely, mental, moral and physical.

An army has been defined somewhere as "the collection of bodies of men armed, disciplined and organised for war." I hope you will agree with me, Gentlemen, when I say that post war events leading up to the present day developments in international affairs, have proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the paramount rôle which the armed forces of any wide-awake nation have to play is not so much the waging of war, as the serving as the bulwark and guarantee of an honourable peace. The age of peace and happiness to which this sore world and its pacifists have been looking forward since the dawn of man's appearance on the stage of life has proved itself to be as elusive as mirage of the Sahara. Might still stands for right in the affairs of sovereign states, and war is still the ultimate reason by which one nation seeks to assert its will upon the other. War, therefore, is a necessary evil—a necessity as painful as unavoidable.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Great War, there was a time when nations believed that the atrocities of the last war would never be repeated. Every one thought for the moment and was fully convinced that force was not after all the only instrument to settle international disputes, but the recent happenings, all over the world, show that we are still far distant from the Utopian idea of a World State. What every nation needs to-day is to organise itself in such a manner that without being aggressive to its neighbours, it may become strong enough not only to defend itself but also to stand as a surety for peace to the weaker brethren. If we advance on these lines we might be able to establish permanent world peace in time to come. India has contributed not a little in the past to this end and it has to contribute still more in the future which looms large on the horizon. Along with her sister countries in the British Commonwealth of Nations, India has to equip an up-to-date and efficient Indian Army worthy of its past traditions. The memory of the services rendered by the Indian Army—to which I may here point out, Gwalior Army contributed not a little—in the last War is still fresh in the minds of all and it would be a proud privilege for all the Indian States to join hands in making greater sacrifice along with their British comrades in the time of need.

Whatever is given to the cause of learning, culture, or defence of motherland is an offering to God, and I congratulate those gentlemen whose generosity made it

INDIAN STATES' AFFAIRS

Gwalior

Gwalior with an area of about 26,000 square miles, a population of 3½ millions and an annual income of nearly Rs. two crores is an important progressive Indian State and occupies a place perhaps only next to Mysore. The State has an accumulated surplus which yields about a crore of rupees every year. The important and noteworthy features of the progress and achievements of this State had not been widely known till a few years ago. But of late we see in the activities of this picturesque State the enthusiasm of a person that has risen up from his slumber, or a new convert.

With the advent of His Excellency the Marquis of Linlithgow as the Viceroy of India and the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy soon after, we see that the movement for rural reconstruction has gained great force not only in British India but also in the Indian States. Gwalior affords us a good illustration of a State which is serious about this field of activity. The young ruler of the State as soon as he was invested with reigning powers some eighteen months ago announced the creation of a fund of one crore of rupees to be utilised for rural reconstruction work in the State. A committee consisting among others of Mr. F. L. Brayne and Prof. Kale was appointed to examine the problem in all its details and to suggest ways and means of undertaking rural development work. The committee has submitted its recommendations to the Government. It considers rural reconstruction rather as "the co-ordination, intensification and humanisation" of existing departmental work and the giving of a new ideal, a new objective, to the whole of the administration. The committee does not think that new departments should

(Concluded from page 12.)

be created for carrying on the work, but the work of the existing departments should be expanded. It thinks that the villagers should be made to have a desire for a higher standard of living which will make them work harder. The committee recommends that the villager should be sure of the security of tenure so that he would have greater certainty that he would be a gainer by working hard on the soil. He should also be made to feel that he is no more crushed by the heavy burden of debt. The cooperative movement would help the villages to a large extent. The committee feels strongly that women also should take a greater part in the scheme for rural uplift. The recommendations of the committee are as sound as they are practicable. We hope that His Highness the Maharaja's Government will give effect to the wise recommendations of the committee as soon as possible, and thereby give a lead to many other States in India.

possible to inaugurate this school. It is in the fitness of things that Nasik, which is blessed with an excellent climate and beautiful surroundings, should have been selected for this school and it is equally appropriate that this school should have been named after the illustrious Bhonslas whose military achievements will never be forgotten.

I have only a word to say to the students of this institution. It now rests with them, through the training and education they receive here, to show in the future years that they are well fitted to be entrusted with the great responsibility of commanding their country-men in the defence of their country and the British Empire, and to rise to the occasion whenever the clarion call of "Stand-fast" is sounded.

Gentlemen, let me once more thank you for your hearty welcome and for giving me a patient hearing. I hope and pray that this institution when complete may prove to be the home and nursery of soldiers worthy of the expectations of their country and may the Almighty grant you success in your enterprise. With these words I hereby declare the School

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The Andhra Province Resolution An Eyewash

(By Brahmasree.)

Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu, the veteran Andhra leader, moved the other day a resolution for the early formation of Tamil, Andhra, Kerala and Karnataka Provinces in the Madras Presidency, which was unanimously passed by both Houses of the Legislature.

Mr. Venkatappayya Pantulu, as a true disciple of the Mahatma who had burst into tears at a famous Ahmadabad meeting of the A. I. C. C., is known as a good weeper. And, generally speaking, I suppose there is no conference or meeting where the Desabhakta, out of an over-flow of his zeal, earnestness and sincerity, does not contribute his heart-felt tears for the cause. Some people contribute blood; others tears; and both are equally patriotic. It is a different job altogether to enquire as to which is the more manly game.

The Desabhakta wept at the Cocanada Congress and at the Alamur Conference and in many other places. On one occasion, the 'Justice' paper wrote that the Desabhakta had contributed a column and half of tears to the 'Indian Express' and the description was not a figure of speech altogether.

When it was announced that the Andhra Province Resolution would be moved by Desabhakta Venkatappayya Pantulu, I was asked as to do what would be its fate. And I replied:—(1) Either the Desabhakta would weep in the Assembly Chamber; or (2) they would pass a Resolution which will go "unwept, unsung and unpraised." What has actually happened now, I may say, is just the latter. That it could not move even its prime mover to a bare moisture of his eye-balls shows how really worthless this boasted Resolution of the Madras Legislature is.

Frankly speaking, whatever the justice and propriety of this demand for four linguistic Provinces in the Madras area be on principle, as things stand at present, it is not a practicable proposition to ask for these four Provinces just now. If you ask my honest opinion, to-day there is no case made out for any Province other than Andhra on grounds of area, population, resources, financial stability, administrative convenience and of general grounds of expediency. And for Andhras to ask for the formation of four Governors' Provinces "as early as possible" is to ask for the moon to come down upon this earth or to throw out their own precious opportunity which is as handy to them to-day as is your walking hand-stick to snatch.

For instance, is it not a silly and ridiculous proposition to ask a Province for the one district of Malabar beside the 12 districts of Andhradesa? And can you really have a *pucca*, full-fledged—at least a 50% Karnataka Province divorced from the Mysore State? Was it not just the other day that the Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan advised his Tamilnadu Conference not to ask for a Tamil Province? And will anybody in his senses believe

that while three more Hindu Majority Provinces (with one more, Maharashtra, soon to follow) are going to be added on to the eleven existing British Indian Provinces, without at least one or two more compensatory Muslim majority Provinces to keep up a "Balance of Communal Power" which the Muslims in India have been striving and which an alien British Raj is struggling to keep up in their own interests? It is sheer moonshine to hope that the Secretary of State is going to act up to the advice of the Madras Legislature.

If truth has got to be told, the Madras Resolution is just an eye-wash to our Andhra leaders and no more. It is a poor consolation to be told that a unanimous Resolution has passed both Houses of the Legislature. It is significant that when Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu pointedly moved an amendment in the Council for the immediate formation of an Andhra Province, the Hon'ble Premier had opposed it. And much is made of the principle underlying this Resolution at the time of its consideration in both the Houses. Even the British Rule has no objection to the principle of *Swaraj*. And what matters to most of us is the current practice which is nefarious. That the powers that be could not accede to pass even this innocent and pious wish as an official measure was another point, because if it is thrown out by the British authority, no "state of war" will be said to exist.

The Resolution on the Andhra etc. Provinces that has been passed is no more an aid to the immediate formation of an Andhra Province than the Westminster Statute is for making India a full-fledged British Dominion, not to speak of an independent Empire. It is hoped that the Andhra Public will not rest content with this empty resolution, but will agitate and organise—till we can actually have a Province of our own in the near future.

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ADVANCE HYDERABAD

(By A. Padmanabha Iyer, Journalist, Karamanai, Trivandrum.)

"We have in our Nizam not only a great Ruler of wide sympathy, wonderful political foresight, remarkable talents, keen sense of duty and a broad vision who has identified himself with his people in all matters of commonweal, but also one whose high intellectual powers and liberal culture have made him a respecter of religions other than his own."

Thus observed the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Iyengar the well known citizen of Hyderabad when I had the pleasure of enjoying his hospitality in 1933 during my visit to that State. My host who was enthusiastic in his praise told me that, what struck him most as a result of close personal contact for several years with His Exalted Highness was his religious devotion and his catholic and broad-minded views on other religions. It was this dominant trait in his character that was the secret of his greatness as a man or as a Ruler of men. Such is the Indian Potentate who holds sway over a territory which in extent is as large as the British Indian Province of Bengal and is in territorial extent as big as England and Ireland put together. Kashmir and Jammu exceed Hyderabad in extent only by a little over 3,000 square miles. Hyderabad however has a population of 1,44,36,148 which is about four times that of Kashmir and Jammu, a little over twice that of Mysore and about six times that of Baroda.

His Exalted Highness Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jung, G.C.S.I. was installed on the throne of his ancestors on the 29 August, 1911 and has, therefore, been ruling the State for over twenty-six years. The enthusiastic manner in which the people celebrated the Silver Jubilee of this glorious reign last year was the best testimony to the love of his subjects of all classes and creeds. The most dominant trait in His Exalted Highness' character is the scrupulous regard he pays to the feelings and sentiments of other religionists than his own. The extreme cordiality and friendliness that prevails among the different communities is traceable to this wise tolerance of their Ruler.

If one were to look back and dispassionately review the events of the past five years, one will be struck with the steady progress maintained along well-defined lines. Owing largely to the sound condition of the finances and the liberal grants made available, the activities of the nation-building departments, like Education and Public Health, have greatly expanded. Many salutary changes have been introduced in Revenue and Judicial administration leading to greater efficiency, while Departments of internal development, like Railways, have been placed on a sounder basis. Among the new features that characterize the quinquennium, the co-ordination of Rail and Road Mechanical Transport, the introduction of State Broadcasting and Aviation, the reorganization of Education with a view to giving it a vocational bias, the constitution of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation on an elective and responsible basis, the reorganization of District Municipalities and the establishment of the Central Board of Rural Reconstruction, deserve special men-

tion. Legislation against debt serfdom, the establishment of a Sugar Factory in the Nizam Sagar area, the decision to commence gold prospecting, the enquiry into Banking with a view to co-ordinating credit facilities for industrial and agricultural relief, the introduction of the system of registration of Hindu marriages, and the passing of the Bill to permit widow marriage, show some of the directions in which the State is moving. The most outstanding events during the period under review were, however, the conclusion of the Berar Agreement in October, 1936, between His Majesty and His Exalted Highness and the Silver Jubilee of His Exalted Highness, celebrated in February 1937 to mark the twenty-five years of his glorious rule. Among other developments of importance may be mentioned the appointment by His Exalted Highness of a special Committee, composed of a majority of non-officials, to investigate and report on methods of bringing about a more effective association of the different interests in the State with the Government, the announcement that a Bill was shortly to be introduced dealing with compulsory primary education, a similar announcement that a Press Regulation was on the anvil which would improve the position of the Press, the declaration that where education is even at present imparted through the mother-tongue in the primary stage, the problem of how best to accommodate it in the secondary stage was under consideration, and the appointment of a Committee, composed of Secretaries to Government, for dealing with the question of rules for recruitment to service and the agencies through which such recruitment or selection should be effected. It will be easily conceded that this is a formidable list of reforms and administrative achievements of which any Ruler may be justly proud. What strikes one is the remarkable advance made in the social amelioration of the people, which is an unerring index to the large measure of confidence, communities of different religious faiths and varying grades of education and enlightenment have in the justice and fairness of their Ruler. The driving force at the Palace has achieved results which the people have learned to imitate and admire. His Exalted Highness has shown that he possesses a judgement considerably matured by age and experience, a knowledge greatly improved by enlarged acquaintance with affairs, a disposition rendered highly reflective by an intelligent appreciation of the duties and responsibilities of sovereignty, sensibility naturally increased to all freedom of thought and action in the prosecution of what he believes to be his highest impulses to promote the welfare of his subjects—freedom consistent with his recognition of England's supremacy over India. "The test of a people's prosperity," wrote W. S. Lilly, the well-known author of "India and its Problems," is not the extension of exports, the multiplication of manufactures, or other industries, or the construction of cities. No. A prosperous country is one in which the great mass of the inhabitants are able to procure, with moderate toil, what is necessary for living, human lives, lives of frugal and assured comfort." It is this ideal that has been carried out during the past twenty six years.

Communication from China

(From the League of Nations, Geneva)

In a communication addressed to the Secretary-General on February 10th, the Chinese delegation in Geneva submitted a telegram from the Mayor of Canton relating to the bombing of Canton by Japanese aircraft.

The telegram asks that the attention of League Members be drawn to the renewed indiscriminate bombing by Japanese planes of open villages and towns around Canton. It stated that a hundred planes had participated in such raids which had destroyed numerous homes and lives in entirely unmilitary areas. These continued bombings, it said, constituted not only cruelty to humanity, but also a flagrant defiance of the League resolution, as well as defiance of strong world opinion against the slaughter of civilians through aerial attacks.

The request was made that the communication be circulated to the Members of the Assembly, of the Council and of the League's Advisory Committee for their information and consideration.

The Status of Refugees from Germany

The plight of the refugees driven from Germany for racial or political reasons has long been a matter of concern to the countries to which such refugees have fled. At a Conference, held at Geneva in February under the auspices of the League, a Convention was framed and opened to signature regulating the civil rights and status of such refugees in the territories of the signatory countries.

Seven States—namely, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and the United Kingdom—signed the Convention with certain reservations. Twelve countries signed the Final Act—namely, Belgium, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

The Convention provides for free and unrestricted access to judicial tribunals, for security of domicile and the right to work (including the benefits of social legislation, insurance, etc.), for facilities in the exercise of professions, industry or trade, and of travelling (delivery and renewal of travel permits), as well as for admission to schools and universities of refugees and their families (including professional training to prepare the refugees for emigration) and taxation.

It defines refugees from Germany as persons who possess or possessed German nationality and have not acquired any other nationality and who are either in law or in fact deprived of the protection of the German Government, as well as people of no nationality not covered by any other convention or arrangement, that have left German territory where they were resident and who do not enjoy the protection of the German Government.

Persons leaving Germany for purely personal reasons of convenience are not included in this definition.

The Convention will come into force thirty days after the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of at least two ratifications or accessions, and may be denounced by a signatory after one year's notice.

(Concluded from page 2.)

supply of resources to a profuse extent. Whereas at Haripura there was no arrest of any leader, a number of leaders had made up their minds to court arrest at Sivapura and the faintest expression of popular resentment at a place where not less than fifteen thousand people had assembled might have easily led to deplorable consequences—seeing that an adequate force of military police had been stationed in sight of the gathering. The Deputy Commissioner, and the District Superintendent of Police showed the utmost courtesy to those who were in charge of the assembly, while in return the Congress leaders gave no room whatsoever for the officers to feel that they would not be implicitly obeyed. After the last disturbance during the visit of Mr. Nariman at Bangalore a great improvement has taken place both on the part of the officers of the Government and the public in general. We deal elsewhere with the flag issue and shall confine ourselves to the resolutions passed at the Congress. These, we feel bound to remark, have been cast in a mould of indefensible futility and unmitigated intransigence. The Congress refused to cooperate with the Reforms Committee and the General Committee which has been aptly described by Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachary its Chairman and senior member of the Executive Council of the State as approaching a Privy Council, and insisted upon a promise of responsible Government as the price of its cooperation. More seriously undesirable than this attitude was the exhibition of a spirit of uncompromising antagonism to the hoisting of the Mysore State Flag even along with the flag of the Indian National Congress. This latter was frankly claiming an ambit of freedom that clearly amounted not to a preference to the Congress flag, but a determined hostility to the flag of the sovereign of the state. The deliberate and calculated rejection of the Royal Flag of Mysore—which is also the flag of the State—must necessarily detract from the merit of the insistence that the grant of responsible Government is to be under the aegis of the Maharaja. Whatever else Mr. Gandhi may approve or tolerate, he will not certainly countenance any action suggestive of disrespect to the ruler, and his sovereign prestige. In the result, the Congress is not without its lessons to the Government, that the people are no longer unamenable to the direction of the popular leaders. More than this, the policy of unreasoning opposition to cooperation with the Government is a policy that has been abundantly proved completely barren, and positively harmful.

In his concluding speech, the Chairman of the Conference, M. Loudon (Netherlands), said that the object of the Convention was to facilitate the permanent settlement of these unhappy refugees in the countries which had first given them hospitality, or which felt able to let them establish themselves. In doing so, he thought the Convention would make a small but real contribution to the endeavours of the League in the domain of international co-operation and the relief of distress.

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CURRENT COMMENTS

A Great Indian Patriot

In the passing away, a few days ago, of Sriyut K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, India has lost one of her most patriotic sons, and Andhra Desa one of its gems of purest hue and resplendent ray. He lived a life of dedication. As the founder and proprietor of the 'Andhra Patrika' and as a responsible, tried and trusted Congressman, he rendered rare and lasting service to the cause of nationalism. His association with an activity was a guarantee of its purity and success, although at times he was taken unawares by some clever colleague. He considered himself a trustee of the wealth he earned and utilised it more for great public causes than for personal aggrandisement. A simple, saintly, sweet person, he knew not what it was to be crafty; and he always said what he meant and meant what he said. Great institutions require more of men of character than of men of mere ability, for their development; and in this imperfect world of ours men of the former category are few and the loss of one such eminent personage cannot but create at least a temporary void. He always took a right attitude so far as he was concerned, and if a wrong course of action was finally approved, he felt it was not for him to quarrel with the decision of a more assertive section. Both as a master and a colleague he was an example of courtesy and liberality. Not much of a Society man, he nevertheless kept himself fully informed of persons and events, but never permitted himself to making an unkindly remark of any one. He was abundantly convinced of undesirable elements amongst those who conducted affairs in the name

of the Congress, and hoped for the day when these defects would disappear. We convey our condolences to the members of his family and the talented staff of his journal.

The Bhonsle Military School

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior performed on 27th March the formal opening ceremony of the Bhonsle Military School at Nasik. The idea originated in the prolific imagination of Dr. B. S. Moonje who, like Pandit Malaviya, has dedicated himself to the sacred cause of regeneration of Hindus in all directions. The idea took shape when Shriman Pratapshethji came forward with a handsome donation of one lakh of rupees; and by and by it gathered momentum, thanks to the encouragement given by Lord Willingdon and the present Viceroy, the practical guidance of the Defence Department of the Government of India, and the country-wide response that Dr. Moonje's appeal has evoked. The school is situated on an elevation of 2000 feet, in one of the most healthy parts of India; its nucleus of the first five classes was opened in June 1937; Subhedar Major Jadhav, a retired Viceroy's Commissioned officer, has been appointed to impart military training, and another officer is to be appointed shortly for giving instruction in horsemanship. An appeal has been made for Rs. 10 lakhs—Rs. 2 lakhs for capital expenditure on buildings and equipments and the balance to constitute a permanent endowment fund. Rs. 10 lakhs is not too big a sum, considering the uniqueness of the school and its infinite potentialities; nor is it beyond the range of private philanthropy and

princely munificence of which His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior provided positive proof by donating one lakh of rupees. The Nasik institution has doubtless a great future, and is not unlikely to get adequate support from those who have contributed lakhs of rupees to the precarious effort at rejuvenation of Hindu Dharma, that is being made in the wilderness of west Benares. No sane Hindu would deny the need or question the justification for the military school, if he bears in mind the unfortunate fact that in recent times Hindus have proved themselves much too meek and effeminate in face of aggressive adversaries of debased mentality. Many more such schools will be required in the coming days to render Hindus fit to defend themselves against their enemies, and such a consummation is not likely to be defeated by the maudlin sentimentality of non-violence; for as His Highness the Maharajah of Gwalior did well to emphasise, the spectre of war is stalking the world, mobilisation of the instruments of destruction is going ahead in almost all "civilised" countries in the world, and the forces of aggression are being arrayed even in face of our apostle of Ahimsa. Dr. B. S. Moonje, Shriman Pratapshetji and His Highness the Maharajah of Gwalior have rendered an abiding service to Hindu India.

Clearing Clouds

So far as Germany, Italy, England and France are concerned, any fear of immediate outbreak of war has been dispelled by the negotiations that have proceeded since the resignation of Mr. Eden. The Spanish problem stands more or less in the same position; the insecurity of Czechoslovakia continues to be what it was, the uncertain plight of Hungary has not been altered and the conflict in Palestine is yet raging. England hopes that all these problems may be satisfactorily settled if the League is reconstructed with the re-entry of Italy and Germany. The recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia by England has removed the grievance of the Duce while the unobjected absorption of Austria by Germany has left Germany in a satisfied mood and the League may stage an international show once again. Russia and Japan might come into conflict at any time, in which case the war in Asia may be localised—unless Germany should take into its head to utilise the opportunity for proving German invincibility when pitted against a Communist power. Such a contingency is by no means probable and we may look forward to peace in Europe, whatever may happen between Russia and Japan. All the same, the only test of avoidance of war lies in an all round reduction of armaments following the advent of the new League of which there is no indication in any country as yet. Peace is lodged in the arsenals of the bigger powers.

The Viceroy's Interviews

There is no disputing the fact that the Viceroy is not only in earnest about the inauguration of the Federal scheme, but is prepared to consider any feasible alterations with a view to obtain the co-operation of the leading parties and the rulers of Indian States. So far as the latter are concerned the task is simpler except in regard to persuading them to concede responsible government to their subjects. As regards the Congress party, in case the Congress Command should insist upon Indian

States liberalising the machinery of the administration to the extent to which it has been done in the British provinces, the expectation is bound to prove futile. But, if they should demand some guarantees of personal freedom, of provision for representative opinion being ascertained on public measures and policy, and for the prevalence of the rule of law in the place of the arbitrary will of the ruler, the States may be brought to realise the wisdom of conceding these reforms. In addition, the Congress may be certain of effecting important changes in the Government of India Act, so as to result in increasing the sphere of responsibility of the Central Legislature and making it directly representative of the electorates. If, on the other hand, the Congress should stick to a constitution drafted by a constituent Assembly, or would not be satisfied with less than complete self-government in all internal affairs including the defences, the parting of the ways would become inevitable. Mr. Gandhi is certain to be amenable to a reasonable compromise and we may expect the same attitude from the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. But there are many chances of a slip between the cup and the lip and the Government may have to introduce a system of Central Government for British Indian autonomous provinces, dropping the Federal scheme. We should strongly urge the imperative need for the Viceroy to be armed with the definite attitude of Mr. Gandhi in the alternative situations that may arise in his talks with the British Cabinet and come to an effected understanding before Parliament adjourns for the annual recess. The old notion that the Act must be accepted as it is has given place to a feeling of preparedness to consider reasonable modifications. The Congress has also learnt the value of cooperation as compared with the policy of going into a wilderness in a non-violent spirit.

Unfortunate

The mail robbery in the United provinces by a band of young men armed with fire arms and a planned dacoity in Behar may cause an uneasy fear in some quarters as to the sagacity of wholesale release of prisoners convicted of violent offences against the law. Not that any of them perpetrated these offences, but that the release was an encouragement. In the interests of good Government by the Congress, these culprits must be traced and if they happen to be ex-convicts, greater care should be exercised in showing clemency to convicts. But we trust no conclusive opinions will be formed by any section of the public when the culprits are still at large.

The Mysore State Congress

At the outset, we desire to congratulate the Government of Mysore, the authorities of the Mysore State Congress and their followers on the splendid spirit of self-restraint that all of them displayed during the Sivapura session of the State Congress. The arrangements made could not have been the pronounced success that they were without the liberal and fully helpful attitude of the Government and the enthusiastic cooperation of the rural population who had assembled in thousands and who had assimilated the lesson of obedience to the commands of their leaders and did not stint in the willing

(Continued on page 16)

OFFICE OF THE PUBLICITY OFFICER TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF MYSORE, PUBLIC OFFICES,

Bangalore, dated 27th October 1937.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

In view of misapprehensions in certain quarters in connection with the action taken by the Government in regard to the recent disturbances in Bangalore City, the following further communique is issued:—

It has been suggested that the order of the District Magistrate in banning the hoisting of the Congress Flag was not consistent with the statement of the Dewan in the Representative Assembly. The Dewan's opening address to the Assembly on the matter has clearly explained the position and the implication of that statement was that the flag should not be hoisted in *public* places but that Government would not object to its display in *private* places in connection with the normal activities of the party. This was made perfectly clear in the subsequent discussions that took place in the Assembly on 21st October 1937, when it was explicitly stated by the First Member of Council that while there was no objection to the Congress Flag being hoisted in *private* places or on occasions connected with the party's activities in their own premises, it should not be hoisted in public places, as it would be derogatory to the State Flag. The attempt to hoist the flag on Sunday morning (24th October 1937) in a public place was thus against this declared policy of the Government and also against the previous practice of the party itself.

It has also been suggested that the arrest of Mr. Nariman under the circumstances in which it was made was very unwise. This criticism is based on a want of appreciation of the full facts. When the order prohibiting him from speaking at a public meeting was served on Mr. Nariman, he said that he had no intention of disobeying it. And as he had not disobeyed the first order prohibiting the hoisting of the flag, the Police assumed that he would not go to the meeting at all. He, however, not only went to the meeting, but also addressed it. The Police therefore had no option but to arrest him as soon as they received additional help. Mr. Nariman's own action is thus responsible for the subsequent happenings.

A suggestion has been made that Mr. Nariman should have been arrested at the close of the meeting. Having regard to the nature of the speeches that he had been making in the State, the Police rightly came to the conclusion that he should not be allowed to go on with his speech and that any delay in arresting him would only mean more trouble. Besides, they had to carry out the orders of the Magistrate as promptly as possible.

The conduct of the Police at that time and later on is deserving of the highest praise. They exercised exemplary restraint in dealing with the crowd, as the heavy casualties suffered by them amply demonstrate.

T. RANGASWAMI,

Publicity Officer to Government.

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ADDRESS

THE DEWAN OF MYSORE

TO

THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

(DASARA SESSION)

16th October, 1937



MYSORE

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1937

ADDRESS
OF
THE DEWAN OF MYSORE
TO
THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY
(DASARA SESSION)

16th October, 1937

MEMBERS OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY,

LET me offer you a cordial welcome to this, the seventy-sixth session of the Representative Assembly.

I have had the privilege since I met you last of seeing the League of Nations at work—not in the aspect of their work that involves the reconciling of the irreconcilable, but in that other aspect, seemingly remote and yet intimately connected, in which their endeavour is to improve the living conditions of the under-privileged over all the world. It has been said of our mission to Java that what we were set to do was to improve the standard of living of half the population of the globe. As we all know, it is the hungry men that make wars, and nothing conduces more to a peaceful outlook than a full stomach, a homestead or a holding of one's own, and a growing deposit in the savings bank. The most important way of all therefore, to prepare for permanent peace, whether internal or external, is, so far as possible, to remove

The League
of Nations
at work.

the causes of discontent, and to that end to raise the standard of living wherever it is lowest.

I do not propose to take you in detail through the length and breadth of our discussions. The Conference consisted of teams of experts sent by no less than thirteen different Governments, and they included in the range of their discussions, in addition to medicine, sanitation, nutrition and rural reconstruction in all its branches, a host of other activities in the fields of economics, sociology, agriculture and education.

I will only say that I was struck and inspired by their display of knowledge, their keenness for results, and not least by the universal sympathy shown for those less fortunate classes whose cases were under consideration.

In this address I will refer to two only of the important subjects which the Conference dealt with namely, rural reconstruction and nutrition.

Rural improvement.

The Conference strongly emphasised the view that more attention should be paid to the countryside. The betterment of rural life was stressed as a matter of vital importance to every country, specially in the East, where the bulk of the population lives in villages.

The public conscience has been greatly awakened, during recent months especially, to the urgent necessity of improving our villages. Our State has been working at this problem for at least twenty years. Much, no doubt, has been done, but it is nothing compared with what still remains to be done, to make our villages healthy, prosperous and happy. The Government will continue to do their utmost, but the village people themselves must be awakened. They must be helped to realise how different village life might easily become through their own efforts. We can place models before them, and endeavour to promote their prosperity, but an equal part of our task is to stimulate self-respect and pride in the neatness and cleanness of the well-kept village.

While we talk of and work for the betterment of the countryside, let us not delude ourselves into thinking that our towns and cities need no attention. They, too, are in a sad state. Sanitation and housing conditions are far from satisfactory in most of them, and how many can boast such amenities as public baths, public latrines, parks and play centres for children? One longs to see children playing in well laid-out and well cared-for play-grounds both in our towns and in our villages.

Nutrition was another subject which received considerable attention at the Java Conference, as you will see from the following quotations from their resolutions :—

“The Conference emphasises the importance of diet in relation to health problems in the East. The available evidence suggests that under- and mal-nutrition is widespread, and that much impairment of physical development and general health, low vitality and actual disease, result from insufficient and improper diet. While the problem is difficult to attack, being largely bound up with economic conditions, the Conference nevertheless feels that there are possibilities of improvement and progress in many directions. It therefore hopes that Governments will increasingly support work in this field.”

“The Conference emphasises the fact that the degree of milling to which rice is subjected is of vital importance in connection with the problem of nutrition throughout the East.” . . . “The Conference recommends that only under-milled rice should be supplied in Government institutions. Efforts to popularise the use of under-milled rice by education and propaganda should be increased.” . . . “Governments should make a thorough investigation of the nutritional, commercial, economic and psychological aspects of the problem, attention being given to the possibility of checking the spread of mechanical rice

Urban im-
provement.

Nutrition.

mills in rural areas, with a view to conserving the healthy habit of consuming home-pounded rice and to the means of making under-milled rice easily available everywhere for those who wish to purchase it."

In a remarkable little pamphlet on the food values of the common foods of the country, Dr. Aykroyd, whom I am proud to claim as one of my colleagues on the Java deputation, has given us the values in proteins, carbo-hydrates and vitamins of all the commonest foods in Southern India. I want to persuade you to study that pamphlet. I shall be greatly surprised if you do not find that you are entirely or largely neglecting some of the foods that have the greatest value from the point of view of scientific nutrition.

Take *ragi* and *jola*, for instance. They answer to the oatmeal that makes the brains and the brawn and the pushful energy of the Scotsman. You perhaps associate *ragi* with the diet of the prisoner; and I am afraid that, when you do so, you do not give the Government credit for the enlightened wisdom that has done so much to improve the prisoner's health.

Turn to vegetables again, and take what Dr. Aykroyd calls "*amaranth*" and we call "*soppu*." It grows almost like a weed. No doubt it is largely used at present, but there is no reason why it should not be used in every family in the State.

Turn now to fruits, and you have the papaya, remarkable for its nutritive and digestive qualities. You could grow these trees in millions on the paddy bunds and in all sorts of odds and ends of land that are allowed to lie waste at present, to the immense benefit of the people.

The resources of science are not fully exploited.

Although poverty and ignorance are formidable obstacles to our progress in this as in many other matters, nevertheless, I hope, ladies and gentlemen, I have said enough to convince you that to a very great extent we have in our own hands the solution of the problem of improving the health of the people

their working capacity and their resistance to disease. To quote a recent article on the subject : " The means exist to feed the people of the world better, to make them healthier and happier. Science has resources that are not being exploited. There is need for an increased production of protective foods—fruits, vegetables and dairy products—and also an increased production of cereals for fodder. It can be satisfied if Governments will pursue in concert policies, national and international, whose only object is the well-being of their subjects."

I now come to the activities of the past year, but before embarking on an account of them, I should like to make an important announcement.

The year
1936-37.

The seasons have been comparatively favourable, the acreage under cultivation has increased under all the principal crops and the outturn has been satisfactory. But there is one factor in respect of which there has still been no great improvement. I refer, of course, to the prices of agricultural produce.

The continuance of these at a very low level, while very agreeable to the rest of us, makes the position of the producer very difficult. In view of this factor we have, under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja, taken up an enquiry which some amongst you have been pressing upon us for several years past, an enquiry into the question whether there are not cases in which the rates of agricultural assessment are pressing with undue severity upon the cultivator.

Rates and
land Assess-
ment.

The result of our enquiry is to indicate that there are two cases in which some relief appears to be necessary. The first is the case of the dry lands paying higher rates of assessment, more particularly in the Kolar District, which have been the subject of several representations in this Assembly. We find actually that there are about 3,000 villages in 15 taluks, of which seven are in Kolar, five in Bangalore one each in Hassan, Shimoga and Kadur, in which

there are dry rates exceeding Rs. 2-12-0, the maximum being Rs. 3-8-0. Theoretically these rates are fully defensible, but practically, with prices at their present level, we find that they are apt to press hardly on the *raiya*s in any but very good seasons. It is therefore proposed to reduce all rates exceeding Rs. 2-12-0 an acre down to that figure. It is estimated that this will cost the State Rs. 1,38,000 in assessment and Rs. 13,000 in Local and Education Cess, in addition to some non-recurring expenditure on the rectification of the *akarbhund*.

The second case in which we think some relief is required is that of the most highly assessed garden lands in the *malnad*. This is also a matter in respect of which representations have been made. In this case the difficulties arising from low prices are aggravated by the continuance of the *koleroga* pest, which has reduced the profits while increasing the cost of cultivation. We have considered the question of a reduction of the maximum rate in this case also, but we find that, inasmuch as each garden is assessed on its own merits, it would be more equitable to make a percentage reduction and to continue it at any rate so long as present conditions continue. The rate of reduction we propose is 12½ per cent, which will involve a loss to the Government of Rs. 30,000. I hope that these concessions, which as you will observe, involve a very considerable loss of revenue, will serve to ease the shoe where it pinches most.

Land
Revenue.

To return to the facts of the year, the total demand of Land Revenue, including arrears of previous years, was Rs. 1,51,26,168, of which a sum of Rs. 1,35,61,431 (including remissions) was collected, as against Rs. 1,36,16,516 in the previous year. The percentage of total collections to the total demand was 89·65.

The Record of Rights scheme has so far been introduced into 60 taluks and sub-taluks, including

the four taluks which were taken up during the year.

A scheme for the grant of *taccavi* loans as a measure of temporary relief to coffee planters was sanctioned tentatively for one year in June 1936. The scheme was found to be so helpful to the planters that, at their request, it has been continued during the current year.

The area comprised by the State Forests increased from 3,540.87 square miles to 3,661.75 square miles. There was artificial reproduction of teak over an area of 519 acres. Forests.

Several nurseries were opened in various parts of the State, with a view to raising economic plants for distribution to local boards and village panchayats.

The gross railway revenue, inclusive of arrears, amounted to Rs. 72.42 lakhs as against Rs. 72.98 lakhs in 1935-36. The total expenditure amounted to Rs. 52.96 lakhs. The net revenue to Government was Rs. 18.32 lakhs as against Rs. 12.14 lakhs in 1935-36. The difference was due mainly to the cessation of the payment of guaranteed interest on the sterling loan, which has been fully discharged. Railways.

The demand for electrical power continues to increase, and in order to meet it the Government have given their sanction to two new and important projects. One of these is the Shimsha project, which provides for extending the Sivasamudram power channel to the Shimsha Falls, where a power plant capable of generating 23,000 horse-power will be installed. It is hoped that the work will be completed in about eighteen months at a total cost of Rs. 56 lakhs, out of which it is expected that Rs. 25 lakhs will be expended in the current year. Electrical Department.

The other project is for harnessing the Jog Falls. This project, for which detailed estimates are now under preparation, contemplates the generation of 30,000 horse-power in the first instance at a cost of

Rs. 150 lakhs. It will also admit of additions to the power generation plant from time to time as the demand increases, the maximum generation of power from this source being 70,000 horse-power.

The electrification of Davangere has been sanctioned. Service has been started at Shimoga, Chickmagalur, Tarikere, Hassan and Hole-Narsipur and in seventeen additional villages. Estimates for the electrification of Kunigal, Marconahalli, Birur, Kemmangandi, Kadur, Arsikere, Tiptur, Hunsur, Channarajanagar, Sidlaghatta and several other places are under consideration.

Telephone system.

An estimate for Rs. 6 lakhs was sanctioned for extending the automatic telephone service in the Bangalore and Mysore cities by making provision for meeting the needs of 2,000 subscribers in the former and 800 in the latter as against 200 and 100 respectively. Up to date it has been possible to give connections to 500 subscribers in Bangalore and 300 in Mysore. The tariff rate for private consumers has at the same time been lowered from Rs. 180 to Rs. 120. The extended system at Bangalore has also been linked to the Government of India Trunk Telephone system, and the trunk line between Bangalore and Mysore has been remodelled so as to make it suitable for being linked to the all-India system. From the official tests carried out between Mysore and Madras it is reported that the results are highly satisfactory.

Iron and Steel Works.

The production in all sections of the plant of the Iron and Steel Works was satisfactory. The entire output of the Works and an appreciable portion of the accumulated stocks were sold, the value of the sales amounting to over Rs. 32 lakhs, against an annual average of Rs. 16 lakhs. The operations resulted in a net profit of Rs. 1,38,827.

Sugar Factory.

The enhancement of the excise duty on sugar from Rs. 26-4-0 to Rs. 40 per ton with effect from the

28th February, 1937 has narrowed the margin of profit available to sugar manufacturing interests. Uneconomic competition among internal producers of sugar has been an additional detrimental factor. The Special Tariff Board visited the Mandya factory in May 1937. Their report is awaited with interest.

The Soap Factory had to face severe competition from both local and foreign manufacturers. There was also a rise in the prices of the raw materials used. These adverse factors notwithstanding, the factory increased both its output and its sales. A glycerine recovery plant was installed at a cost of Rs. 8,000.

There was an appreciable increase in the output and sale of the medicinal products prepared in the Industrial Laboratory. The employment of qualified canvassers was one of the methods adopted to popularise these preparations. There was a large demand for bitumen emulsion for treating road surfaces. Another plant for the manufacture of the emulsion was installed in the Sandal Oil Factory at Mysore.

The main items of work done in the Workshop relate to the manufacture of improved ploughs, parts for tobacco barns, spares for the Sugar Company, lamp posts and transformer shells. A sum of Rs. 20,000 was sanctioned towards additional equipment.

The manufacture of insulators continued to be the chief business of the Porcelain Factory. The total sales effected amounted to Rs. 85,689. The Factory is being expanded by the addition of new machinery and equipment.

The Electric Factory has made a very promising beginning in the manufacture of transformers, bolts and nuts, water and electric meters, light machine tools and other equipment for small industries, and of bakelite articles.

The construction of the buildings for the Paper Mills and quarters for the staff is making rapid

progress. A consignment of machinery was received in May last and is being erected. The rest of it is expected very shortly. The services of an experienced paper-maker have been secured. A number of young graduates in science and engineering have been deputed to undergo training in the several processes of paper manufacture in factories in India and abroad. It is hoped that the manufacture of paper will be commenced early next year.

Tobacco
Company.

The Mysore Tobacco Company has issued tobacco seedlings for the cultivation of 2,000 acres. Ninety barns have been constructed for flue-curing. It is proposed to bring 10,000 acres under cultivation in the course of the next two years, the centres selected being Whitefield, Hunsur, Goribidnur, Hudugur, Anekal, Closepet, Gottigere, Periyapatna and Sabbanahalli. Curing has been commenced in all the centres with the exception of Periyapatna. The cultivation of tobacco of improved types is expected to yield an income ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 per acre to the grower.

Agri-
culture.

During the year valuable research work has been done on sugarcane, cotton and tobacco. A number of experiments directed to the preparation of manurial composts from farm waste are being conducted with encouraging results. The method of biological control of insect pests has been tried in the case of the sugarcane borer in the Irwin Canal area and has yielded striking results. There is already a great demand for the supply of the parasitic material used from Agricultural Departments in British India and from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Tar distillate emulsion has become very popular with planters as a means of controlling the coffee stem borer. The improved types of seed which have been evolved are in great demand not only in the State itself, but also in parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and in Hyderabad.

A sum of Rs. 10,000 was sanctioned as an additional grant towards measures for increasing the production of disease-free layings. The cost of production of silk is being steadily reduced. A scheme for the grant of bonuses to encourage the raising of mulberry plantations has been introduced, and it is hoped that this will prove an attraction to private sericulturists. Sericulture.

A scheme of research into the preservation by refrigeration of cross-bred disease-free layings and seed cocoons has been sanctioned, for which the Government of India have been good enough to give an annual subvention of Rs. 5,100 for two years. Considerable progress has already been made with the enquiry.

The Department of Co-operation is actively engaged in implementing the recommendations of the committee which recently carried out a most thorough examination of the working of the movement and of the possibilities of its development. Co-operative Societies.

The operations of the Land Mortgage Bank were extended to the taluks of Bowringpet, T.-Narsipur and Chitaldrug, as well as to parts of the taluks of Belur and Hiriyur.

There has been an improvement in the position of the central financing institutions, which have been assisted by a rise in prices in collecting a higher percentage of the moneys due to them.

The working of the societies during the year also showed better recoveries of dues, a larger turnover and an improvement in net profits. The share capital rose by a lakh and fifteen thousand rupees and the reserve fund by a lakh and twenty-five thousand. The net profits increased by about Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 4,01,439.

A scheme for the supply of milk to the three major hospitals at Bangalore, through a co-operative agency has been organised and is reported to be working successfully.

Cottage industries.

The number of spinners is increasing in the Badanval-Khadi Centre. The total production of *khadi* was 102,939 square yards as against 97,341 in 1935-36. The sales now amount to more than half a lakh of rupees a year.

Police.

The entire police force was redistributed and two new administrative divisions were created, one in each of the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. The staff of the Finger Print Bureau was strengthened.

An increment of Re. 1 to constables who had been drawing a pay of Rs. 15 for seven years, was sanctioned at an extra cost amounting for the present to Rs. 20,000 per-annum.

Judicial.

The term of office of the fourth Judge of the High Court was extended for a further period of one year from 2nd January, 1937. A second Additional Subordinate Judge was appointed temporarily from the 3rd August, 1936 to dispose of the long-pending land acquisition cases in Bangalore.

Medical.

The total number of medical institutions at the close of the year was 286, which gives, on an average, one for every 102 square miles and 22,459 persons.

Sanction has recently been accorded to the construction of a new maternity hospital at Mysore.

A scheme for subsidising medical practitioners and inducing them to establish independent practice in rural areas has recently been sanctioned.

Public Health.

Public health was generally satisfactory. Small-pox showed a decline, while the incidence of cholera registered an increase. As regards the latter, energetic measures of control were instituted and included the prohibition of the holding of a large number of *jatras*, cattle fairs and shandies. A total of 1,22,500 anti-cholera inoculations, 76,599 anti-plague inoculations and 2,70,262 vaccinations were performed.

The provisions of the Food Adulteration Regulation were extended to Kolar, Seringapatam and Nanjangud. A permanent Health Museum is being

organised at Mysore. A Board of Health has been constituted by the Government of India. The Second Member of Council is serving on the Board as the representative of the State.

The question of reforming the whole system of Education, education so-as to make it a better preparation for citizenship is one that has been occupying the best minds of India for several years past, and one in respect of which Mysore shares to the full the difficulties that are common to the whole country. In this instance I am afraid it falls to me, rather to propound problems for your consideration, than to report achievements.

In the case of elementary education, the local authorities, to whom we entrusted the management in 1931, have found themselves unable, for want of funds, to finance any schemes of expansion or to deal with the problem of the single-teacher school. In pursuance of a promise made at the last session of this Assembly, we have appointed a strong committee to investigate thoroughly, on the one hand, the resources, both existing and potential, that can be made available for this purpose, and on the other, the methods of utilising those resources that will give the most beneficial results. Elementary Education.

In the case of middle school education we have to admit an impasse. In 1920, in order to induce people to send their children to these schools, we made the concession of remitting the fees. The response has been so overwhelming that we find ourselves quite unable to cope with the demand. The number of pupils in Government middle schools has increased from 18,437 in 1923-24 to 36,402 in 1936-37. The number of schools has increased from 181 to 294, nine new ones having been opened in 1936-37, to which eight more are now being added. The number of teachers has increased from 963 to 1,464, 99 additional teachers having been sanctioned in the Middle Schools.

past three years and 50 more in the year now current. All this has meant a very large increase in expense, but it has been quite inadequate to overcome the difficulties. We have teachers dealing with classes of as many as 90 pupils, classes so large that they cannot get into the class rooms, and for whom, if they can, there is no sufficient furniture. It is hardly a matter for surprise that there have been constant complaints of the falling off in the standard of teaching of English. In fact, I think we must frankly confess that, in so far as we are admitting more children than we can accommodate or teach, we are following a disastrous policy. If we are to attempt adequately to cope with the problem, it is not sufficient to provide additional teachers for the first year classes only. It is necessary to provide for an increase in teachers for the second, third and fourth year classes as well. If we set ourselves to deal only with the numbers at present demanding middle school education, without reckoning the further requirements of the future, we need at least 150 more teachers with schools and school furniture to correspond.

It is a mark of wisdom to be ready to acknowledge a mistake. Our Legislative Council, in January last, showed their recognition of the fact that the concession of free middle school education went too far by proposing that all whose incomes came within the operation of the Income-tax Regulation should be required to pay fees. I think we may have to go further even than this, and I ask you to give your very serious consideration to the question whether the arrangements which we cancelled in 1920 should not be restored.

High
Schools.

In the case of high schools the important matter that has been under consideration is the revision of the courses of study in the light of the reports of the two English experts who have recently gone into the question of systematic vocational

training, and of a committee of our own that reported a little while ago on the same subject. In pursuance of this idea the course of study for the school final examination has been revised so as to promote a diversity of training with emphasis on realistic subjects such as the industrial, commercial and domestic arts. With a view to providing a follow-on course for the benefit of students that pass their school final examination with these subjects as their optionals, the University has appointed a committee to consider the institution of a post-secondary diploma course in such subjects as engineering, commerce and sericulture. It is hoped that the institution of these courses will tend to divert the students at the end of the high school stage from purely academic courses into branches of training which will make better provision for varying temperaments and aptitudes, and will also offer better chances, to those who complete the training, of earning a satisfactory living.

To our great regret Dr. E. P. Metcalfe brought Uni-
versit his term as Vice-Chancellor of the University to a close. He was succeeded by Mr. N. S. Subba Rao. The total number of students in the University rose from 2,812 to 2,998, of whom 211 were women. The Women's Intermediate College at Bangalore and the hostel attached to it were transferred into a spacious set of buildings that have been specially adapted for the purpose. The Royal College of Surgeons have recognised the M.B.B.S. degree of the Mysore University for the purpose of admission to the Primary Fellowship Examination when it is held in India.

The construction of a bridge over the Cauvery at Public
Works. Ramanathpur in the Arkalgud Taluk, of which the foundation stone was graciously laid by His Highness the Maharaja in February, 1936, was completed. Work has been started on two girder bridges, one at the crossing of the Vedavati river by the

Hosadurga-Huliyar road and the other¹ at the crossing of the Shimsha by the Bangalore-Mysore road *via* Kankanahally.

In view of the many large irrigation works that have already been or are proposed to be undertaken, we have for some time past felt the necessity for a Standing Consulting Committee of Engineers. Such a committee has accordingly been recently constituted with the Chief Engineer as *ex-officio* Chairman and Messrs. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, K. R. Seshachar, M. G. Rangaiya, S. Srinivasa Aiyar and V. V. Karve as members.

I feel it is my duty to take this opportunity of expressing to these distinguished gentlemen the Government's appreciation of the great help they are rendering to the department by their valuable advice on the many technical questions referred to them. Government appreciate their zeal and their good-will, and acknowledge very heartily the ungrudging service which they are rendering.

Finance.

The revised estimates for 1936-37, presented at the June session of this Assembly, anticipated a revenue surplus of Rs. 1.25 lakhs, as against Rs. 1.20 lakhs taken in the original budget estimates. I am glad to be able to tell you that the preliminary actuals of the year show an improvement over the revised estimate of more than Rs. 9 lakhs, resulting in a surplus of about Rs. 10½ lakhs. Out of this, a sum of Rs. 9 lakhs has been transferred to a reserve head to meet items of special expenditure, and the accounts will close with a surplus of about Rs. 1½ lakhs. The total revenue and expenditure of the year will stand at Rs. 399 lakhs and Rs. 397½ lakhs, as against Rs. 389 lakhs and Rs. 387.75 lakhs, respectively, shown in the revised estimates.

The collections under "I. Land Revenue" during 1936-37 amounted to Rs. 130.66 lakhs, as against Rs. 125.11 lakhs taken in the revised estimate, in

consequence of larger collection of arrears. There was an improvement of about Rs. 2½ lakhs as a result of an increase in sales of sandalwood oil. Other Forest revenue showed an increase of about Rs. 2 lakhs mainly on account of larger receipts from the sale of timber and firewood.

Since our last meeting, a change of great significance has taken place in the structure of the Provincial Governments in British India. Elected representatives of the people, enjoying the support of a majority in the legislature, have taken charge of the administration. I am sure you would all like me to give expression on this occasion to the sincere good wishes which the people and the Government of Mysore alike cherish for the success of these popular Ministries. Their experiences and their experiments will be of much value to us in Mysore; and we shall watch their careers as warm-hearted friends and as eager seekers after true ways of improvement.

I need scarcely assure you that the Government of His Highness the Maharaja are not inappreciative of the influence which the political changes on the other side of the border are likely to have on public opinion within the State. As I have explained on numerous occasions, it has ever been the desire of His Highness to widen, according to the favourable developments of circumstance, the opportunities afforded to his subjects of sharing in the responsible tasks of government. I have been commanded to assure you that His Highness has been watching with keen appreciation the growth of public spirit and patriotic zeal among his subjects, and that their aspirations for larger opportunities to serve the State will meet with due response at the proper moment. How soon that moment will arrive must naturally depend on how well opportunities now existing are made use of.

Provincial
Autonomy.

Policy of
the Mysore
Govern-
ment.

Opportu-
nities for
service.

There is a vast amount of scope for the active exercise of public spirit and constructive talent; not only in a whole series of governing bodies from the panchayats to the municipalities and district boards, and from those again to the two Houses of the Legislature, but also in a great number of unofficial or semi-official committees and public organisations in connection with which there is endless work crying out to be done. As these several institutions go on bringing to light in increasing numbers men endowed with both ability and character, men possessing a sense of responsibility as well as disinterested zeal for service, the prospect is bound to become more and more full of promise to the citizen aspiring after higher opportunities. I should, however, remind you that it is practical experience coupled with a recognition of the factors peculiar to our State, and not theoretical abstractions, that should be our guide. Nothing is so difficult as the assessing of the values of political and social innovations, particularly in a country where the traditional organisation of life resembles a thousand-year old structure, with foundations deep beyond fathoming and with walls and ceilings full of hallowed paintings and friezes, and the whole held together by the interplay of forces which it is impossible to estimate. In attempting to adapt such a structure to modern requirements, we cannot afford to forget that the disturbing of a single worn-out brick or a single sagging beam may perchance bring down the whole venerable edifice in a mass of debris. We have to proceed with caution if we wish to minimise social disturbance, and avoid its bitter aftermath of class feud and blind partisanship. The best way of proceeding is the way of mutual persuasion and friendly understanding—not the way of minatory challenges and precipitated conflicts. Our time has established its right to the title “The Epoch of Unrest,”—unrest not simply in

this sphere of life or in that, not in this country or in that, but in every-sphere and in every country under the sun. And the changes of our time tend to be sudden, radical and dangerous. It is natural that ardent spirits among us should be impatient to introduce into our body politic conditions and features devised by those seeking social improvement in other lands. But such well-meaning enthusiasm cannot by itself achieve progress with security. It must be accompanied by reasoned scrutiny. I am recalling these truisms, not to suggest that we should keep our eyes closed to what is happening around us, or that there is nothing for us to learn from reforms adopted elsewhere, but simply to point out the supreme need of an independent and dispassionate examination of their working. Nor should I be understood to be pleading for a policy of indecision and procrastination under the guise of study and deliberation. The history of Mysore's development furnishes no ground for a charge of that kind. From 1881 down to our own day, the enlargement of our constitution has never been a matter either of uncritical imitation or of wrested concession. It has proceeded spontaneously in the way of evolution, neither sluggishly delayed nor impatiently hustled at any stage. And so let us allow it to continue to evolve by its own vitality and in forms appropriate to its own character and environment.

I feel I owe it to the State, to its citizens no less than to its Government, to repudiate on this occasion the allegation made in certain quarters that the Government have launched a policy of repression against public workers. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no transaction or programme of the Government that need shrink from criticism. The proceedings of this House and of the Legislative Council bear testimony to the freedom and fearlessness with which comment is made on

The Government and public workers.

governmental measures by spokesmen of the public, and also, I hope, to the appreciation with which such comments are received by the Government. Our newspapers also, I am sure, are betraying no sign of timidity or tender-heartedness towards us. I have no hesitation in claiming that the life of the citizen in Mysore is quite as free as in any country where liberty and order have found recognition as the obverse and the reverse of true citizenship. The law of the land has charged the magistracy and the police with responsibility for the preservation of peace and order; and a magistrate is required to act in his own discretion whenever he receives information through a proper channel about any activity of a subversive or tumultuous nature likely to be set on foot within his jurisdiction. If magistrates failed to exercise this irksome responsibility, there must soon be an end to all peace and order, to say nothing of progress and prosperity.

The case in which action is unavoidable.

To be frank, I do not consider that we should have any compunction in dealing with public workers who make the upsetting of the existing order their sole object and concern, without taking any thought of the risks attendant on the courses that they recommend. Not that the existing order is impeccable. But before allowing it to be disturbed, let us make sure that what is offered us in place of it is something really more useful. The agitator, on the contrary, seems to love nothing so much as general disorder and confusion. When local troubles arise, which it should be the object of every good citizen to settle in a peaceable manner, he attempts to increase them and to direct them into the general stream of grievances against the established order. Experience and insight into the country's problems, coming from years of conscientious study and reflection, are nothing to him. Reputations built up by long and faithful toil in the cause of the public are nothing to him. Even

the prestige and fame of the State are nothing to him. When men of this type are abroad, it becomes, not the right only, but the duty of the Government to resist their activities effectively by every means which the law of the land makes available. On the other hand, the Government freely recognize that those help the administration and serve the State who, instead of devoting themselves to a wholesale condemnation of the existing order and the creation of mass unsettlement, endeavour to focus attention on specific defects and possible improvements, and to make the public mind more sensitive to the needs as well as to the purposes of the State. Such positive-minded critics are a constitutional complement to the Government; and the constitutional liberties of men of this type will never suffer any abridgment.

I should like to take this opportunity to say a word touching the Government's attitude towards outside agencies carrying on political work in the State. It must be plain to everybody that we in Mysore are not in love with isolation. No one can accuse us of lack of concern for nationalism. Mysore was one of the first, if not the very first, among the parties concerned, to stand up for the ideal of all-India unity, and to advocate the plan of federation. But nationalism ought not to mean the self-immolation of the component entity. Federation is not merger. If I may quote a recent article of my own in the *Indian Social Reformer*, Indian national life should evolve along lines which, while leaving each political entity free to work out its own destiny in matters concerning itself, should yet admit of united and harmonious co-operation for common ends. In a word, we should render unto Mysore the things that are Mysore's, and unto India the things that are India's. Such being our motto, we cannot concede to any body of persons who are not subjects of His Highness the Maharaja the right to interpose in matters that lie strictly between

Relations
with the
Indian
National
Congress.

the people and the Government of Mysore. It is in recognition of the justice and reasonableness of this principle, I take it, that that wise and high-souled leader, Mahatma Gandhi, has uniformly and consistently held that the Congress should refrain scrupulously from attempts to meddle with the domestic concerns of the Indian States. In such respect for one another's autonomies lies the surest and the swiftest approach to good understanding and unity in this vast country, teeming as it is with a multitude of interests and a diversity of allegiances which have to be reconciled one with another.

The Congress flag.

I should like here to make clear our policy regarding the Congress flag. We have a flag of the Empire and we have a flag of the State. But that intermediate entity, India, has not yet been welded into a federation, nor has an all-India Government promulgated any universally accepted emblem of our nationality which is common both to Provinces and to States and comprehends all the communities and groups of the Indian peoples. The Congress is a great political party, and we have no more objection to the display of its emblem at places or on occasions which are connected with legitimate party activities than we have to the display of the emblems of other parties or sectional bodies. But we cannot permit it to be displayed in a spirit of hostility to the State flag, or under conditions which are liable to cause provocation or annoyance to persons who are not members of the party. I hope that this statement of the case will serve to remove all occasion for misunderstanding on this subject hereafter.

The proper spheres of action.

Let me hope that these words will not be construed by any one as a declaration of opposition on my part to the Indian National Congress. It is well known that the Government of Mysore have given a full measure of sympathy to the principal items of their constructive programme, the production of *khadi*,

rural improvement and the uplift of the depressed classes. In such work of social and economic amelioration, the Government will be only too glad to receive co-operation. But they could not view with approval or unconcern efforts made by any organisation of people owing no allegiance to the State and its Ruler, to coerce them in respect of matters of domestic politics. I trust that this point of view is sufficiently appreciated by the leaders of the Congress to prevent the adoption of a line of action that may jeopardize their all-important task of building up an all-India unity, and I hope that those leaders will exercise a restraining influence over other workers who are apt to use the name of the Congress in support of agitations which its leaders have not approved.

If that great organisation will but remain a friendly neutral so far as the internal politics of the States are concerned, there is every reason to believe that, when the time comes, it will find willing and useful collaborators in the States for the supreme work of raising the strength and the stature of India.

We look for friends in every quarter, but for friends whose zeal for the correction of our defects will not make them ignore the limitations under which we labour; and also for friends who will not overlook the fundamental fact that Mysore itself may claim to furnish no mean demonstration of Indian talent and capacity for administration. It is a matter for thankfulness and pride to us that Mysore has no lack of true friends outside her frontiers. The humble endeavours we have been making in the service of this not insignificant part of India, inspired by the lofty patriotism and the steadfast vision of many-sided progress which characterise our noble and beloved Ruler, have met with the warm approbation of a large and growing number of all-India public men, who can be trusted to speak with detachment as well as with

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